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THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

II

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THE SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
DAVID MAGIE, PH.D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

II

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INTRODUCTION

The Authorship and Date of the *Historia Augusta*

The traditional assignment of the several biographies to six different authors involves many difficulties and apparent inconsistencies and gives rise to various questions. Did each of the first four authors actually write a complete series of imperial biographies from which the various *vitae* of this collection have been selected? If so, who made the selection and on what principle was it made? Why did "Spartianus" write his *Severus* and "Capitolinus" his *Marcus Aurelius, Verus,* and *Macrinus* under Diocletian, and the former his *Geta* and the latter his *Albinus, Maximini,* and *Gordiani* under Constantine twenty years later? Why do the biographies attributed to the four authors of the earlier *vitae* bear a close resemblance to one another, not merely in the general scheme of construction (which might be attributed to the imitation of the same model), but in the use of the same unusual phrases and words, many of which appear also

in the *vitae* ascribed to Pollio and Vopiscus? Why do the minor *vitae* contain material which is little more than repetition from the corresponding major biographies,[1] and why does "Spartianus" in the *Niger*[2] refer to the *vita* of Albinus as his work, when the *Albinus* in the collection is attributed to Capitolinus?

An answer to these questions has been sought by various scholars in various hypotheses of a more or less radical nature, and these in their turn have been attacked by conservative writers who have attempted to explain away the objections and inconsistencies and to uphold the traditional authorship. The most radical have gone so far as to attribute all the *vitae* to a single author, who, they maintain, assigned his work to six different names as a "literary" device. On the other hand, the most conservative stoutly uphold the plural authorship and the traditional date of the several biographies. Between these extremes are other writers more moderate, who admit a plural authorship, at the same time holding that the traditional assignment is entirely untrustworthy and ascribing many of the general resemblances, as well as the inconsistencies and the interpolations, to the hand of a later editor.

The discussion was begun in 1889 when Hermann Dessau[3] advanced the startling hypothesis that the whole *Historia Augusta* is the work, not of a group of writers living in the early fourth century, but of a

[1] *e.g.* the *Marcus Aurelius* and the *Avidius Cassius*, the *Severus* and the *Niger*.

[2] c. ix. 3.

[3] *Hermes*, xxiv. (1889), pp. 337-392; xxvii. (1892), pp. 561-605.

single "forger" of the period of Theodosius, who, in order to secure for his work a semblance of authority, sought to give it the appearance of an earlier origin, and in order to arouse additional interest, used the expedient of attributing his *vitae* to six different authors. A further motive was alleged—namely, his realization of the lack of material for his work and his desire to cover up his shortcomings by fabrications which would be less easily discovered were his biographies assigned to an earlier period.

In support of his theory Dessau found in the various biographies many inconsistencies with the period in which they claim to have been written. He argued that the glorification of Constantius Chlorus in the *Vita Claudii* would not have been composed while he was merely Caesar. He contended, moreover, that the names of many persons introduced into the biographies are those of important families of the latter part of the fourth century, and that no persons of these names were prominent in the earlier period; that the ignorance of many details displayed in the *vitae* of Aurelian and Carus is incomprehensible if these biographies were really written about 305; and that many of the technical terms employed in reference to the administration of the Empire do not seem to have been in use under Diocletian and Constantine, but were, on the other hand, current in the age of Valentinian and Theodosius. He argued, further, that the relationship between the duplicate narrative in the *vita* of Marcus[1] and the corresponding passage in Eutropius, and between the summary of Severus' reign and the corresponding section of Victor, can be explained

[1] See Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxii. f.

only by the hypothesis that the writer took his material from Eutropius and Victor, who composed their works in the third quarter of the fourth century. He then proceeded to point out the obvious difficulties of the traditional plural authorship—the uniformity in use of conventional rubrics, in phraseology, and in rhetorical devices, the similarity of the various apologies pleading a lack of material in extenuation of the shortcomings of the work, and the fact that each of the alleged writers included documents which are evident forgeries. On these and similar grounds Dessau argued for a single authorship and that at the end of the fourth century.

The conclusions of Dessau were carried further by Otto Seeck.[1] He, too, held that the biographies are the work of a single writer, but attempted to set him at a date later than Dessau's "Theodosian forger," contending that he lived at the beginning of the fifth century. In defence of his theory he enumerated many apparent allusions to the post-Constantinian administrative and military system and asserted the presence of many inconsistencies with the earlier period. He discovered also various covert thrusts at the Emperor Honorius[2] and concluded that the work was written under Constantine III., a usurper who appeared in Gaul in 407 and maintained his rule for three years.

In reply to these extreme theories of Dessau and Seeck a more conservative position was maintained

[1] *Jahrbb. f. Class. Philol.*, cxli. (1890), pp. 609-639; ***Rhein. Mus.***, xlix. (1894), pp. 208-224. He has repeated his theory, with many ingenious arguments, in *Rhein. Mus.*, lxvii. (1912), pp. 591-608.

[2] In *Sev.*, xx. 4—xxi. 12; *Alex.*, lxii. 2; *Claud.*, ii. 6.

by Elimar Klebs [1] and Eduard von Wölfflin.[2] Klebs admitted that the assignment of the *vitae* from the *Hadrian* to the *Maximus-Balbinus* to the four traditional authors is certainly incorrect and that there is a confusion in the names of the writers which cannot be rectified, but at the same time he contended that the *Historia Augusta* is altogether a product of the period of Diocletian and Constantine. He showed at great length that the sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus* which bear a close relationship to the corresponding portions of Eutropius and Victor were not taken from these authors but from their common source, and maintained that these sections could not be omitted from the respective *vitae* without breaking the connexion with what follows and that therefore they cannot be regarded as later interpolations.

In his second article Klebs emphasized the differences exhibited by the various groups. While admitting that they bear a certain resemblance to one another, which he explained by their common imitation of Suetonius, he showed that the several groups exhibit well-marked peculiarities both in content and in form; thus, even the groups ascribed to Pollio and Vopiscus, while they resemble each other closely in containing elaborate prefaces, in introducing citations from oral tradition, and in naming contemporaries, show marked differences in style and method, which distinguish them, not only from the earlier *vitae*, but also from each other. In the earlier series, Klebs pointed out that the eight major *vitae* from Hadrian to Caracalla, together with the biographies of Aelius

[1] *Rhein. Mus.*, xlv. (1890), pp. 436-464; xlvii. (1892), pp. 1-52, 515-549.

[2] *Sitzungsber. d. Bayer. Akad.*, 1891, pp. 465-538.

and Verus, form a connected group of ten *vitae* with certain definite peculiarities: they are simple collections of excerpts in which the author seldom appears; save for the two minor *vitae* they are without prefaces; their sources are seldom named and there are no documents; the technical terms employed in regard to the administration of the Empire are regularly those of the period prior to Diocletian; finally, rhetorical devices are conspicuously absent. In the other *vitae* of the first section Klebs distinguished between a "Lampridius group," consisting of the *vitae* of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander, and a "Capitolinus group," consisting of the *Albinus*, the *Maximini*, the *Gordiani*, and the *Maximus-Balbinus*. He pointed out that the *vitae* of the former group are distinguished by their great length, their fullness of detail, and their wordy epilogues, while the biographies of the "Capitolinus group" are characterized especially by their close dependence on Herodian and by the fact that they contain citations from Cordus. He held that the *Niger*, the *Geta*, the *Macrinus* and the *Diadumenus* are also to be assigned to this group, while the *Avidius Cassius*, differing, as it does, from all the others, not only in the number and character of its forged documents, but also in its vocabulary and general method, must be regarded as the work of a special author. Thus did Klebs defend the traditional number of six *Scriptores*, though admitting that perhaps some of the *vitae* cannot be definitely assigned to a particular writer.

Wölfflin attempted to solve the problem on the basis of language and style. He pointed out that in spite of the fact that all the biographies contain words and phrases taken from Suetonius, there are distinct

differences among them, not only in the manner of narration but also in the grammatical usage and the employment of stock formulae. On this basis he defended the plural authorship, emphasizing particularly the difference in linguistic usage between Spartianus on the one hand and Pollio and Vopiscus on the other—unfortunately he omitted from his discussion the *vitae* ascribed to Capitolinus and Lampridius. On the other hand, in contrast to Klebs, he advanced the theory that there was a general editor who compiled the collection and added much of his own work. According to Wölfflin, this editor was none other than Vopiscus, who, after writing the *vitae* of the emperors from Aurelian to Carinus, formed a larger collection of imperial biographies by the incorporation both of the *vitae* written by Pollio and of those of the earlier emperors from Hadrian to Caracalla written by Spartianus—how the period between Caracalla and Philippus Arabs was treated Wölfflin does not explain. According to this theory, Vopiscus wrote the minor *vitae* of Aelius, Niger and Geta and inserted addresses to Diocletian as well as notes and items of information in the biographies written by Spartianus. In the case of the *Aelius*, Wölfflin attempted to prove his theory by showing a list of words and phrases that are to be found in Vopiscus but not in any of the major *vitae* written by Spartianus. In the case of the *Geta* he could explain the address to Constantine only by supposing it to be due to a copyist's error.

A position midway between that of Dessau and the more conservative point of view represented by Klebs and Wölfflin was taken by Theodor Mommsen.[1]

[1] *Hermes*, xxv. (1890), pp. 228-292 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, vii. pp. 302-362.

While refusing to admit that the biographies were composed in the time of Theodosius, Mommsen maintained that the series is a compilation of various collections written under Diocletian and Constantine, which was subjected to a general revision at the end of the fourth century and increased by the addition of some relatively unimportant material. He denied that any forger could have so skilfully assumed the mask of a former age and so carefully avoided every reference to his own time. While maintaining, in opposition to Dessau and Seeck, that the administrative and military terms are not later than the third or early fourth century, he admitted that the insertion of names well known in the fourth century and the relationship of the sections in the *vitae* of Marcus and Severus to the histories of Eutropius and Victor seem to indicate a later origin. He pointed out, however, that the names occur in passages which interrupt the course of the narrative, and maintained that the duplicate sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus* are evidently subsequent additions.

In his discussion of the origin of the earlier biographies Mommsen distinguished between two groups of major *vitae*, a Diocletian-group, including the *vitae* from *Hadrian* to *Macrinus*, and a Constantine-group, including those from *Heliogabalus* to *Maximus-Balbinus*, but showed that no reliance can be placed on the traditional assignment of authors. He declared that the minor *vitae* were the work of a general editor, who dedicated some of his biographies to Diocletian and some to Constantine, and assigned to them the names of the authors attached to the major biographies of each group. The two series attributed to Pollio and Vopiscus he accepted as genuine works composed at the beginning of the fourth century.

The general editor, who wrote the minor *vitae* as well as compiled the whole work, Mommsen supposed to be the author of the Constantine-group. He assumed, however, the existence of a later editor, who at the end of the fourth century added certain material, as indicated by Dessau, to the collection as he found it, and who was responsible for the repetitions and the instances of confusion in the order of the narrative and for many of the unusual words and expressions which give to the phraseology of the whole the appearance of unity.

In repudiation of the work of Dessau, Seeck, and Mommsen, the extreme conservative position was reasserted by Hermann Peter.[1] While admitting the existence of an editor who made the selection of the *vitae* preserved in our collection, he held fast to the traditional assignment to six *Scriptores*. He emphasized the inherent improbability of Dessau's theory, maintaining that it failed to solve many of the problems involved. He argued that none of the passages cited by the advocates of a late authorship or editorship was necessarily written at the end of the fourth century and that there are many of them which could not have been composed in this period, and he expressed his conviction that the collection was completed about 330, and that the final redaction took place at this time.

The moderate conservative position was next maintained by S. Frankfurter.[2] In an examination of the prefaces and epilogues he found differences which preclude the belief that they were composed by a single author. On the other hand, he admitted that,

[1] *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 242 f.
[2] *Eranos Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1893), pp. 218-232.

while the prefaces to the *Maximini* and the *Gordiani* show that these were composed by the same author, this writer was not the author of the earlier *vitae* ascribed to Capitolinus. Furthermore, after pointing out the fact that the preface to the *Heliogabalus* and the epilogue of the *Alexander* show that these two form a single group, he followed Mommsen in maintaining that the dedications to Constantine and other indications are sufficient evidence for the belief that this group was written by the author of the *Maximini* and the *Gordiani*.

A similarly conservative point of view was taken by H. Vermaat.[1] He emphasized the lack of any definite allusion to the later fourth century, pointing out that even in the matter of the introduction of the names of persons prominent in this century there is only negative evidence to show that there were not important men of these names in the earlier period. While granting the presence of interpolations in most of the biographies and the assumption of a general editor who formed the existing collection, he refused to admit either (with Mommsen) that this editor was the author of the series *Maximini-Maximus* and of the minor *vitae*, or (with Wölfflin) that he was Vopiscus. Basing his argument on the preface to the *Aelius*, he held that there were two collections of lives of the emperors from Hadrian to Caracalla, one containing biographies of both "Augusti" and "Caesares" and the other those of the "Augusti" only. He held that the editor used the latter collection as the basis of his *corpus*, inserting in it the minor *vitae* of the former series and certain material of his own, notably

[1] *De Aetate qua conscripta est Historia Augusta* (Leyden, 1893).

the sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus* which contain the digressions and duplicate narratives, and then took from a third source the *vitae* of Albinus and Geta, finally adding to the whole the Constantine-group *Heliogabalus-Maximus* (composed in 324-327) and the biographies by Pollio and Vopiscus (composed respectively in 300-303 and 306-308).

At the beginning of the present century the investigation into the problem of the origin of the *Historia Augusta* took a new turn. Friedrich Leo,[1] after a brief mention of the theories of Dessau and his opponents, expressed the judgment that the real question was not *whether,* but *to what extent,* the biographies are a forgery, and this dictum gave the impulse to a new line of discussion. Henceforth it was not only the authorship and the date that formed the object of learned research, but also the character of the sources from which the material was drawn.

At first the discussion was concentrated on the earlier *vitae* from Hadrian to Macrinus. It had been generally assumed that these biographies were chiefly, if not altogether, compiled from the lives of the emperors written by Marius Maximus.[2] An intensive study of the material, however, pointed to a different conclusion.

An investigation of this sort was first attempted by J. H. Drake.[3] In a study of the historicity of the

[1] *Die Griechisch-Römische Biographie*, p. 301.

[2] J. J. Müller, *Der Geschichtschreiber L. Marius Maximus*, *Büdinger's Untersuchungen*, iii. (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 17-202; J. Plew, *Marius Maximus als direkte und indirekte Quelle der S.H.A.* (Strassburg, 1878), and *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrian* (Strassburg, 1890).

[3] *Studies in the S.H.A.; Am. Journ. of Philol.*, xx. (1899), pp. 40-58.

fifth chapter of the *Caracalla* he pointed out that the latter part of this *vita*[1] shows evident similarity with the accounts of Caracalla's reign by Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. He inferred therefrom that the author used the lost "Imperial Chronicle"[2] as his source for this part of the biography, but at the same time he conceded that the first part, which shows little or no similarity to the narratives of Victor and Eutropius, was taken from Marius Maximus.

More extensive results were reached by J. M. Heer,[3] the first of a series of scholars to distinguish in detail between two types of sources used by the *Scriptores*. In an examination of the *vita* of Commodus he detected two different kinds of material—an annalistic historical section and a strictly biographical portion. He argued that the differences between these in respect to the method of narration, the choice of phrases and words, and the value of the historical material are so marked and the instances of double versions are so frequent, that the two cannot be regarded as an organic whole, but rather as the combination of two different works. He held further that the historical section,[4] thoroughly consistent within itself and without repetitions, is evidently a series of excerpts from an epitome of some important historical work, and that this work was written in Latin, its narrative being entirely independent of Cassius Dio or Herodian. He then proceeded to maintain that the author of this history was not Marius Maximus, showing that not only in the *Commodus*, but

[1] See Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxiii. [2] *Ibid.*, p. xxii. f.
[3] *Der Historische Wert der Vita Commodi*; *Philologus*, Suppl. Band. ix. (1901-1902), pp. 1-208.
[4] c. i. 1-6; i. 10—ix. 3; xvii. 1-12.

also in the other *vitae* of the earlier group, the citations from Marius Maximus are added to the body of the text in order to amplify or illustrate it and sometimes merely to state the opinion of Maximus as divergent from the main narrative.

Heer then examined the strictly biographical portion of the *Commodus*,[1] pointing out that here also there is no reason for supposing that the material was taken from Marius Maximus. He showed that this portion of the biography consists of generalizations with few concrete facts, and that its statements are merely proofs or illustrations of Commodus' vices, or summaries of events taken from the whole of his reign made without any regard to chronological order and always characterized by hostility toward the Emperor. He then concluded that the author of the *Vita Commodi* was little more than a compiler, who combined excerpts from an epitome of an historical work with material selected from a biography arranged according to rubrics, making no attempt to construct an organic whole and content with the production of a mechanical compilation.

The method and the results of Heer were carried on much further by O. Th. Schulz.[2] In a series of three monographs he examined the *vitae* from Hadrian to Geta and presented a new point of view with regard to the historical material. Following the lead of Heer, he maintained that these biographies are built

[1] c. ix. 4—xv. 2; xvi.

[2] *Beiträge zur Kritik unserer litterarischen Ueberlieferung für die Zeit von Commodus' Sturze bis auf den Tod des M. Aurelius Antoninus* (*Caracalla*) (Leipzig, 1903); *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig, 1904); *Das Kaiserhaus der Antonine und der letzte Historiker Roms* (Leipzig, 1907).

up around a core of facts taken from an historian who wrote a history of the emperors from Hadrian (perhaps from Nerva) to Caracalla, treating each reign in a single monograph. He contended, moreover, that this historian greatly surpassed Cassius Dio (of whom he was a contemporary) in keenness of vision and political insight, and that his work represents the best tradition that we possess for the history of the second and third centuries. Schulz then maintained that this history was utilized by a writer (or writers) of the time of Diocletian and Constantine, who, making excerpts from it, combined with these excerpts material from another source, more strictly biographical in character and frequently anecdote or gossip only, and added thereto certain elaborations and amplifications of his own. Schulz then supposed an extensive revision in the period of Theodosius—presumably with the addition of the biographies of the emperors subsequent to Caracalla, which are left undiscussed—holding that the final redactor removed portions of the strictly historical material, added new and supposedly more interesting biographical detail, and even inserted certain fictitious statements designed to add lustre to the forefathers of some of the important families of the time. His most important additions, according to Schulz, were made from the biographies of Marius Maximus, which he used not only in his *vita* of Avidius Cassius (which Schulz regarded as altogether the work of the final redactor), but also in his additions to the other biographies. It was Marius Maximus, according to Schulz, who forged the letters and acclamations in the *vitae* of Avidius Cassius and Commodus. It was his work also, and not the "Imperial Chronicle," that constituted the source

of Eutropius and Victor, and the resemblances between their histories and the corresponding sections of the *vitae* of Marcus and Severus are explained by the hypothesis that the redactor took these sections directly from Maximus. This redactor, too, is held responsible for the arbitrary assignment of the names of the authors to whom the biographies are traditionally attributed.

A parallel investigation was carried on by Ernst Kornemann.[1] Adopting Schulz's theory of the dependence of the earlier *vitae* on the work of a lost historian—the so-called *Anonymus*,—he maintained that this history was also used in the compilation of the biographies of Macrinus, Elagabalus, and Alexander. Not content with this, however, he attempted to draw inferences concerning the personality and point of view of the *Anonymus*, and even gave him a name, identifying him with Lollius Urbicus, cited, in connexion with an evidently forged letter in the *Diadumenianus*,[2] as the author of an "historia sui temporis."

The attempt to distinguish between a trustworthy historical source and more trivial biographical material was next made for the biographies of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander. An examination of the former was undertaken by Miss O. F. Butler.[3] After noting the fact that this *vita* falls into two distinct sections—a brief history of the emperor's reign [4] and a mass of

[1] *Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom* (Leipzig, 1905).

[2] *Diad.*, ix. 2.

[3] *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus*; in *Univ. of Michigan Studies*, vol. iv. (New York, 1910).

[4] c. i. 4—xviii. 3.

biographical and anecdotal material,[1] she formulated the hypothesis that the author had before him an epitomized account of the life of Elagabalus drawn from the "Imperial Chronicle," which he used for a few statements in the opening chapters of the *vita*, combining with it material drawn from other sources. This portion of the work, Miss Butler then showed, is followed by a longer section, which contains a mass of details, compiled from various sources and arranged without regard to chronology or orderly sequence. For some of the material Marius Maximus is cited as the source.[2] This portion is followed, in turn, by the narrative of Elagabalus' downfall and death. It is clear and chronologically accurate, and its fullness of detail precludes the supposition that it was taken from an epitome of the "Imperial Chronicle." Miss Butler then drew the conclusion that the first section of the *vita*, which gives a brief history of Elagabalus' reign, cannot be regarded as the work of any one author, for a plurality of sources is evident from the varying value of the material and the many dissimilarities and self-contradictions, and the belief is precluded that either Marius Maximus or the *Anonymus* was largely responsible for this biography.

A brief study of the *vita* of Severus Alexander was made by W. Thiele,[3] who contented himself with listing those passages of the biography which he deemed worthy of credence and those which seemed suspicious as either the annotations of the compiler or additions taken from untrustworthy sources. This work was soon followed by the more extensive

[1] c. xviii. 4—xxxiii. 8. [2] c. xi. 6.

[3] *De Severo Alexandro Imperatore, Cap. I. de Fontibus.* (Berlin, 1908).

treatise of K. Hönn.[1] In regard to the biography of Elagabalus Hönn held that material taken from the "Imperial Chronicle" is scattered through the first twelve chapters, though greatly amplified by the additions of the author. In the *vita* of Alexander, on the other hand, he detected only a slight use of the "Imperial Chronicle." Certain brief definite statements of fact, scattered through the biography, agree with the narrative of Victor, and these were supposed by Hönn to have been taken from a much epitomized version of the "Chronicle." The rest of the material in the *vita* he condemned as valueless. The account of Alexander's Persian War, he maintained, was derived from Herodian, and the description of the various legislative and administrative measures from the Codex of Theodosius. The strictly biographical material, especially in the long section which is wholly biographical in character,[2] Hönn believed to be fictitious. He held that, except for certain details taken from the *Codex Theodosianus,* it is made up almost entirely of statements modelled on those in the other *vitae* and of items recorded for the purpose of contrasting Alexander with Elagabalus. He maintained that the acclamations of the senate and the speeches of the Emperor[3] are similar pieces of patchwork made up of phrases taken from other biographies. He then proceeded to a study of the style of the *vita* and arrived at the conclusion that the combined evidence of the matter and the manner of the narration argued that the author wrote in the early part of the fifth century and that he was of Gallic origin. He furthermore

[1] *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus u. des Severus Alexander im Corpus der S.H.A.* (Leipzig, 1911).
[2] c. xxix.-liv. [3] c. vi.-xi.; lvi.-lvii.

affirmed that this author also wrote the *Macrinus*, the *Diadumenianus*, and the *Heliogabalus*, and, moreover, that the *Gordiani*, the *Aurelianus*, the *Tacitus* and the *Probus* were adapted from his work.

Recent work on the *Historia Augusta* has followed the lead of Hönn in reverting to the theory of Dessau. In a dissertation published in 1911[1] E. Hohl maintained, on the basis of a study of the *vita* of Tacitus, that the biographies attributed to Vopiscus were written in the time of Theodosius and that the material was drawn from the "Imperial Chronicle," from Victor's *Caesares*, and from a Greek source. He cited, furthermore, certain resemblances between Vopiscus' biographies and the *vitae* of Avidius Cassius and Severus Alexander as evidence that these *vitae* also were written by this author, and re-asserted the hypothesis once advanced by Wölfflin, that Vopiscus was the final redactor and editor of the whole collection.

Not content, however, with identifying Vopiscus with Dessau's "Theodosian forger," Hohl next proceeded, on the basis of the appearance, in the biographies attributed to Pollio, of the names of some persons mentioned by Vopiscus, to identify Vopiscus with Pollio.[2] He maintained that the "forger" used the three pseudonyms, Vulcacius Gallicanus, Pollio, and Vopiscus, in three different sections of the *Historia Augusta*.

In a third article[3] Hohl appeared as an out and out advocate of Dessau's hypothesis and ardently championed the theory that the *Historia Augusta* is

[1] *Vopiscus und die Biographie des Kaisers Tacitus; Klio*, xi. (1911), pp. 178-229; 284-325 = Diss. Tübingen, 1911.
[2] *Vopiscus und Pollio; Klio*, xii. (1912), pp. 474-482.
[3] *Neue Jahrbb. f. d. Klass. Alt.*, xxxiii. (1914), pp. 698-712.

entirely the work of a fourth century "forger." After analysing the psychology of the "Theodosian forger," he declared that the "forger's" reason for choosing the emperors of the second and third centuries as his subjects and for attributing his work to the period of Diocletian and Constantine, was his opposition to Christianity and his desire to display this feeling by writing about a period in which it could not prove dangerous to himself. He then proceeded to absolve the "forger" of actual forgery by the contention that his *vitae* belong to a type of literature of which historical accuracy was not demanded, pointing out instances in which he even claimed that the author is making fun both of himself and his readers. Yet Hohl did not deny that his "forger" used sources which contained historical material. He admitted the use of an "annalistic" source but refused to follow Schulz in his reconstruction of an "Anonymus," holding that there has been too great a reaction against the belief in the dependence of the *Historia Augusta* on Marius Maximus.

The theory of the "forger" has been adopted also by Alfred von Domaszewski in a series of four articles on the references to the topography of Rome and the geography of the Empire, and on the dates and the personal names found in the *Historia Augusta*.[1] Beginning with the assertion that the names Lampridius, Capitolinus, Pollio, and Vopiscus were invented by the "forger" to designate material drawn respectively from Dio, Herodian, Nicostratus of Trapezus, and Eusebius, all with additions from Eutropius and Victor, Domaszewski proceeded to

[1] *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad., Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916-1918.

examine various erroneous and obscure allusions to places in Rome, as found in the biographies from *Severus* onward, and to maintain that the "forger"—who had no personal knowledge of the city—gathered these in a blundering fashion from various ancient authors and especially from glosses added to a list of buildings in Rome similar to that of the "Chronographer of 354." In like manner he argued that the allusions, in the later biographies, to districts and towns throughout Italy and the provinces were also taken by the ignorant "forger" from various works, including the earlier *vitae*, and amplified with the help of an official list of the provinces, similar to the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius. He then attempted to show that the dates occurring in the *Historia Augusta* (mostly in the so-called "documents") were taken by the "forger" from a trustworthy list used by the "Chronographer of 354," but in the process many were confused by him and even attached to events to which they did not belong. The fourth, and by far the most extensive, of Domaszewski's articles applied this same method of reasoning to the names of persons, especially those found in the later *vitae*. In it he maintained that the "forger," utterly ignorant of the correct form of a Roman name, invented combinations made up from the *gentilicia* of the emperors and a few well-known families together with various cognomina which he found in Cicero and other writers, even down as far as Jordanes. Thus the period in which the "forger" wrote is determined as subsequent to Jordanes, and therefore not earlier than the latter half of the sixth century. A still more astounding hypothesis is advanced in regard to his nationality. On the supposition that in *Sev.* i. 5

he has confused Carnuntum in Pannonia with the town of the Carnutes in Gaul, and because of his tendency to glorify Gaul, previously pointed out by Seeck, and his knowledge of the Gallic poets Sidonius Apollinaris and Ausonius it is asserted that he was of Gallic birth; furthermore, his home must have been in the province of Narbonensis, since he shows especial interest in the worship of the Magna Mater (whose cult was popular in this province), and because his list of *dona militaria* in *Prob.* v. 1 bears a close resemblance to those enumerated in some inscriptions from Nemausus (Nîmes), this town, it is maintained, was his actual home. On this supposition his erroneous references to places in Rome are explained by the hypothesis that he is locating in the capital various buildings which in reality were in Nîmes.

Further arguments for a belief in the theory of the late "forger" have been recently advanced by Domaszewski's pupil Johannes Hasebroek,[1] who has gone beyond Dessau and adopted the conclusion of Seeck. In his examination of the lives of Pescennius Niger and Clodius Albinus he maintained that the material for these biographies was taken from the *Vita Severi, Herodian, Eutropius* and *Victor,* and denied the use and even the existence of the "Imperial Chronicle."

The point of view of Dessau and Hohl has recently been accepted by Arthur Rosenberg in his useful hand-book on the sources of Roman history.[2] In his

[1] *Die Fälschungen der Vitae Nigri u. Albini in den S.H.A.* (Berlin, 1916); see review by Hohl in *Berl. Philol. Woch.*, 1917, 424-426. The same point of view is taken in his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (Heidelberg, 1921).

[2] *Einleitung und Quellenkunde zur Römischen Geschichte* (Berlin, 1921).

statement of the origin of the *Historia Augusta*, which smacks of the methods of the modern business-world, Rosenberg imagines that about 375 a writer, who was perhaps also a book-seller, wishing to enter into competition with Marius Maximus and other popular writers of imperial biographies, composed the present series of *vitae*, attempting to outdo Maximus in spiciness and in fullness of detail, especially in embellishment of his narrative by means of "documents." Then, not daring to publish the work under his own name, he pretended that he had discovered an older work, attempting to deceive the public by the attribution of his biographies to six imaginary authors and by dedications to Diocletian and Constantine.

Another recent contribution to the discussion is that of Wilhelm Soltau.[1] Beginning with Mommsen's conclusions, he posited the composition in the time of Diocletian of two series of biographies, (A) the major *vitae* from Hadrian to Macrinus, and (D) the *vitae* ascribed to Vopiscus. These two collections, he asserted, were worked over and amplified about 400 A.D. by Julius Capitolinus, the general editor of the *Corpus*. According to Soltau's theory, Capitolinus wrote the six minor *vitae* in Group A and the biographies of the four usurpers in Group D; he also inserted all the dedications to the emperors and the duplicate sections in the *Marcus* and the *Severus*, taking these directly from Eutropius and Aurelius Victor. The original author of the major *vitae* (A), Soltau maintained, was Spartianus; his name Capitolinus removed from some of the *vitae* on the occasion of his

[1] *Philologus*, lxxiv. (1917), pp. 384-445.

general editing and replaced it with his own, while in similar fashion he assigned some of his new minor *vitae* to himself and some to Spartianus. The biographies of Elagabalus and Alexander Soltau believed to be the work of a Lampridius, and he too may perhaps be regarded as the original author of the three following *vitae*, but if so, these were completely rewritten by Capitolinus, who also made various additions to the two former *vitae*, and inserted all the dedications to Constantine with a view to making this collection (Group B) seem the work of an earlier period.

Thus far Soltau followed the general conclusions of Mommsen. However, in dealing with the biographies of Trebellius Pollio (Group C), he advanced a new and strange theory. Beginning with Chapter II. of Vopiscus' *vita* of Aurelian, which, he held, breaks the general connexion and hence is a later interpolation or rather a shameless forgery, he claimed that Vopiscus did not, as this chapter asserts, follow Pollio, but on the contrary, that the latter wrote at a subsequent period. After an examination of the *vita* of Claudius he arrived at the following conclusions: that this biography is founded upon a panegyric of Claudius written in Greek about 305 by a Trebellius Pollio, who sought, by lauding Claudius, to carry on a sort of propaganda for Constantius; that this same writer caused his freedman to compile material dealing with Gallienus and the *Tyranni Triginta*, vilifying Gallienus in order to add lustre to Claudius; finally that about the middle of the fourth century a freedman of Trebellius Pollio, whom Soltau dubs *Pollio Libertus*, used all this material in the composition of biographies of Valerian, Gallienus, and Claudius, together with

the summaries dealing with the Thirty Tyrants, and, in order to give his work a certain prestige, issued it under the name of his patron, claiming that he was the author also of biographies of the emperors from Philip to Trebonianus Gallus.

Thus Capitolinus, about 400 A.D., is supposed by Soltau to have combined four series of biographies with six minor *vitae* written by himself and the summaries of the four usurpers attributed to Vopiscus and to have inserted the duplicate narratives in the *Marcus* and the *Severus*, the dedications addressed to the emperors, and the many passages scattered through the whole *corpus* which bear the hall-mark of the fourth century, and in this way to have created the *Historia Augusta*.

As a result of the controversy concerning the authorship and date of the *Historia Augusta* it is evident that the traditional assignment of the biographies to the six *Scriptores* must be abandoned. Similarly, it has become clear that the radical theory that the *vitae* are all the work of a "forger" who lived at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth, is untenable. Even Dessau and Seeck failed to prove their contention, and the recent articles by Hönn, Hohl, and Soltau, brilliant though they are, contain no real proof that the *vitae* with which they deal were composed at this date. Nor can the theory of a single author explain satisfactorily the great divergences in method and style which appear in the several biographies and the striking variations displayed within a single biography. On the other hand, Klebs' attempt to divide the biographies into groups irrespective of the traditional authorship and

Mommsen's distinction between major and minor *vitae* and his theory of a later revision, all point to the true solution of the problem. The work begun by Heer and Schulz, which distinguished between historical and anecdotal material and showed that many of the biographies are awkward compilations amplified by later additions, has also contributed to the understanding of their origin.

At the present stage of our knowledge no definite statement as to authorship can be made. Once rid, however, of the tradition that the biographies, irrespective of the character of their content and their chronological order, are to be assigned to the several authors whose names they bear, and, on the other hand, unconvinced by the arguments for the preposterous theories that the whole work is a forgery of the fourth or fifth century, we may follow the lead of Klebs, of Mommsen, and (in so far as he follows Mommsen) of Soltau, aided by the work of Heer and Schulz. It is clear that the character of the material, the method of presentation, and the purpose of the author are by no means uniform throughout the series, and that single *vitae* or groups of *vitae* show such individual characteristics that it is impossible to believe that all were originally the work of the same author. On the other hand, the presence in almost every biography of interpolated material, frequently inserted at inopportune places, the resemblance between passages of a highly rhetorical character, and the use of certain stock phrases, all betray the hand of some one writer, apparently a very ignorant person and certainly one devoid of any literary sense, who has worked over the whole collection.

Proceeding from this standpoint it is possible to

establish certain definite groups of biographies, differing from one another in content, manner, and the period in which they purport to have been written. A few *vitae*, it is true, can be brought into one of these groups only with considerable difficulty, but at least certain main divisions can be made for the purpose of classification. The fact that these groups are six in number is a striking coincidence with the traditional number of *Scriptores*, but there seems to be little warrant for drawing any inferences therefrom.

The groups thus established are as follows :—

A. The major *vitae :* Hadrian, Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Pertinax, Julianus, Severus, Caracalla. In these *vitae* the name of Diocletian occurs only in the digressions in the *Marcus* and the *Severus*. Except for occasional bursts of rhetoric, notably in these digressions, these biographies consist of brief statements put together in the manner of excerpts and without any attempt at literary style. They contain no prefaces or epilogues. Schulz has shown that each is built up about a core of historical material and that this has been taken from an extensive historical work. He has, however, gone too far in his admiration for the work of his *Anonymus* and especially in his assertion that this writer was an historian comparable to Tacitus and Dio. On the other hand, he has done well to lessen the importance of Marius Maximus. While he has not demonstrated sufficiently that the citations from Maximus are all due to the late redactor and has gone too far in his condemnation of the biographer, he has shown that these citations do not belong to the strictly historical material and that they are of secondary importance.

B. The minor *vitae*: Aelius, Verus, Avidius Cassius, Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, Geta. Of these, the first four are addressed to Diocletian, the other two to Constantine. In the *Verus* and the *Niger* the emperor is addressed only in an epilogue; in the *Niger* the address is followed by some miscellaneous material which is evidently a later addition. In the *Albinus* the address to Constantine is contained only in the section intended to glorify the family of the Ceionii,[1] which is also to be regarded as an addition by a later editor.

In contrast to the major *vitae* these biographies are rhetorical in character and embellished with verses, forged documents and anecdotes. They contain little or no historical material that is not in the major *vitae*. Schulz has tried to show that they also derived their historical matter from the *Anonymus* but his attempt does not give satisfactory results.

The differences in manner and matter between these minor *vitae* and the major biographies of Group A show clearly that their author did not compose the major *vitae* in their original form. On the other hand, he used them as sources for his historical material. It is his purpose, he says in the preface and the epilogue of the *Aelius*,[2] to present to the knowledge of Diocletian the lives of all the "Augusti," the "Cæsares," and the pretenders to the throne, and a similar purpose is proclaimed in the *Avidius Cassius*,[3] but there is no statement in either of these *vitae* to the effect that the biographies of the "Augusti" were actually composed by him.

We are therefore inclined to believe that a writer

[1] c. iv. 1-3. [2] c. i. 1; vii. 5. [3] c. iii. 3.

of the time of Diocletian issued a collection of biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Macrinus. In this he incorporated parts of an epitome of an older series of *vitae* of the "Augusti"—corresponding, in general, to the work of Schulz's *Anonymus*—and added thereto a considerable amount of anecdotal and personal material. To this series of "Augusti" he added biographies of the princes and pretenders, which he either composed himself or found already in existence. The *Macrinus* was probably also contributed by him. The presence in it of some historical material suggests that it may have been included in the older series, but its rhetorical preface and the many "literary" embellishments which it contains make it clear that it was at least largely rewritten, probably as a sort of appendix to the collection. On the other hand, the *Geta*, unless some drastic emendation or excision is made in the address to Constantine, must be attributed to some later author or editor.

C. The *vitae* of Elagabalus and Alexander, assigned by the manuscript tradition to Lampridius. These two biographies form a unit, with a preface at the beginning of the former and an epilogue at the end of the latter. Both are addressed to Constantine. The worthlessness of most of the material has been demonstrated by Miss Butler and Hönn, and a general wordiness and fullness of unimportant detail distinguish these *vitae* from those of Groups A and B. The fact that Marius Maximus is cited as a source for many of the enormities of Elagabalus suggests that he was the source of a large part of this *vita*, for it consists principally of material of this sort. Moreover, when it is remembered that the biography of Alexander is largely a panegyric of the Emperor and that

the iniquities of Elagabalus are utilized to shed greater lustre on his successor, it becomes more probable that Marius Maximus, who lived under Alexander, may have been used for much that is in these *vitae*. The worthlessness and wordiness of the *vita* of Diadumenus suggests that it too is to be placed in this group, and it is perhaps no accident that the tradition assigns it also to Lampridius. The rhetoric that is expended on the *amabile nomen* of Antoninus[1] accords well with the *Heliogabalus* and the *Alexander*, and the similar digressions in the *Macrinus*[2] may be later additions by the same hand.

D. The *vitae* of the Maximini, the Gordiani, and Maximus and Babinus. Of these, the first two have prefaces addressed to Constantine, while the last is without a preface, evidently because it is so closely connected with the *Gordiani*. This series, it is almost universally admitted, constitutes an independent group. For many of its statements Herodian is cited as authority, and undoubtedly much of the historical material has been taken from him, apparently without any intermediary.[3] The Chronicle of Dexippus of Athens is also cited, but always as the source of what are evident additions or interpolations.

E. The *vitae* assigned to Pollio.

F. The *vitae* assigned to Vopiscus.

The *vitae* by Pollio were composed, according to internal evidence, about 300, and those by Vopiscus a short time afterward.[4] They appear to have been independent collections, incorporated in the series by

[1] *Diad.*, vi. 1—viii. 1. [2] c. ii. 5—iii. 9; vii. 5-8.

[3] E. Diehl, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencycl.*, viii. p. 2081 f.; the citations from Herodian in the *vitae* of Elagabalus and Alexander are evidently later additions.

[4] See Intro. to Vol. i. p. xiv.

the editor of the *corpus*. They are much more highly rhetorical than the earlier biographies, and much more full of errors, particularly in connexion with topography, geography, and the administration of the Empire. While Hohl's attempt to show that they were written by the same author in the period of Theodosius is utterly lacking in proof, and Soltau's theory of a "Pollio Libertus" is too fantastic to deserve serious consideration, it is clear that these groups did not escape the attentions of the later redactor who made his interpolations here, as well as in the other biographies, and who may have been responsible for many of the ignorant and erroneous statements.

These groups, A-B, E and F, of the time of Diocletian, and C and D, of the time of Constantine, were combined, worked over, and edited by some later writer, probably at the end of the fourth century. He added much new material, including selections from Eutropius and Victor (or their common source) and, probably, most of the "documents." This material he often inserted in the wrong connexion and thereby added greatly to the confusion of the whole. The attempts to establish his name and identity can be regarded as little more than guesses. It is ardently to be hoped that the forthcoming elaborate historical commentary promised by the Heidelberg Academy under the general supervision of Alfred von Domaszewski[1] may help to solve this problem, as well as the many others connected with the *Historia Augusta*, but in the present lack of evidence it can only be said of this question "adhuc sub iudice lis est."

[1] See Hohl in *Neue Jahrbb. f. d. Klass. Alt.*, xxxiii (1914), p. 710; A. von Domaszewski in *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelberger Akad., Phil. hist. Klasse*, 7 Abh., p. 3.

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SCRIPTORES
HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE

ANTONINUS CARACALLUS

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Ex duobus liberis, quos Septimius Severus reliquit Getam et Bassianum, quorum unum Antoninum [1] exercitus alterum pater dixit, Geta hostis est iudicatus, 2 Bassianus autem obtinuit imperium. de cuius maioribus frustra putamus iterandum, cum omnia in Severi vita 3 satis dicta sint. huius igitur pueritia blanda, ingeniosa, parentibus adfabilis, amicis parentum iucunda, populo accepta, grata senatui, ipsi etiam ad amorem 4 conciliandum salutaris fuit. non ille in litteris tardus, non in benevolentiis segnis, non tenax in largitate, non lentus in clementia, sed sub parentibus, visus. 5 denique, si quando feris obiectos damnatos vidit, flevit aut oculos avertit, quod populo plus quam amabile fuit.

[1] *Antoninum* ins. by Petschenig; om. in P; *Antoninos* ins. after *Bassianum* (l. 2) by F. Richter and Peter.

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[1] He was originally named Julius Bassianus after his maternal grandfather; see note to *Sev.*, iii. 9. In 196 Severus gave him the name M. Aurelius Antoninus and by this he was officially known for the rest of his life; see *Sev.*, x. 3 and note. The nickname Caracalla (more correctly Caracallus) by which he is usually known was the name of the Gallic cloak which he made fashionable in Rome; see c. ix. 7-8; *Sev.*, xxi. 11.

ANTONINUS CARACALLA

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. The two sons left by Septimius Severus, Geta and Bassianus,[1] both received the surname Antoninus,[2] one from the army, the other from his father, but Geta was declared a public enemy,[3] while Bassianus got the empire. The account of this emperor's ancestors I deem it needless to repeat, for all this has been fully told in the *Life of Severus*.[4] He himself in his boyhood was winsome and clever, respectful to his parents and courteous to his parents' friends, beloved by the people, popular with the senate, and well able to further his own interests in winning affection. Never did he seem backward in letters or slow in deeds of kindness, never niggardly in largess or tardy in forgiving—at least while under his parents. For example, if ever he saw condemned criminals pitted against wild beasts, he wept or turned away his eyes, and this was more than pleasing to the people.

[2] See note to *Sev.*, x. 5.

[3] After Geta's murder his statues were destroyed, his name officially erased from inscriptions, and coins bearing his likeness melted down; see Dio, lxxvii. 12, 6, and Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 458-460.

[4] *Sev.*, i. 1-2.

6 septennis puer, cum conlusorem suum puerum ob Iudaicam religionem gravius verberatum audisset, neque patrem suum neque patrem pueri velut auctores
7 verberum diu respexit. Antiochensibus et Byzantiis interventu suo iura vetusta restituit, quibus iratus fuit Severus, quod Nigrum iuverant. Plautiani odium
8 crudelitatis causa concepit. quod a parentibus gratia Sigillariorum acceperat, id vel clientibus vel magistris sponte donavit.

II. Sed haec puer. egressus vero pueritiam seu patris monitis seu calliditate ingenii sive quod se Alexandro Magno Macedoni aequandum putabat, restrictior, gravior, vultu etiam truculentior factus est, prorsus ut eum quem puerum scierant multi esse non crederent.
2 Alexandrum Magnum eiusque gesta in ore semper habuit. Tiberium et Sullam in conventu plerumque
3 laudavit. patre superbior fuit; fratrem magna eius humilitate despexit.
4 Post patris mortem in Castra Praetoria pergens apud milites conquestus est circumveniri se fratris insidiis,

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[1] The rights of Antioch, taken away after Niger's defeat (*Sev.*, ix. 4), were probably restored when Caracalla received the *toga virilis* and assumed his first consulship there; see *Sev.*, xvi. 8. Byzantium surrendered to Severus' army in 196 after a siege of nearly three years; see Dio, lxxiv. 10-14. It was then deprived of its rights and ordered to pay tribute, and its walls were destroyed. Its later restoration by Severus is recorded by Malalas, p. 291, and Hesychius of Miletus (C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.*, iv. p. 153).

[2] See note to *Sev.*, xiv. 5.

[3] See note to *Hadr.*, xvii. 3.

[4] Immediately after Severus' death in Britain on 4 Feb., 211, Caracalla and Geta patched up a peace with the rebels and returned to Rome, where they arrived in May. The

Once, when a child of seven, hearing that a certain playmate of his had been severely scourged for adopting the religion of the Jews, he long refused to look at either the boy's father or his own, because he regarded them as responsible for the scourging. It was at his plea, moreover, that their ancient rights were restored to the citizens of Antioch and Byzantium, with whom Severus had become angry because they had given aid to Niger.[1] He conceived a hatred for Plautianus[2] because of his cruelty. And all the gifts he received from his father on the occasion of the Sigillaria[3] he presented of his own accord to his dependents or to his teachers.

II. All this, however, was in his boyhood. For when he passed beyond the age of a boy, either by his father's advice or through a natural cunning, or because he thought that he must imitate Alexander of Macedonia, he became more reserved and stern and even somewhat savage in expression, and indeed so much so that many were unable to believe that he was the same person whom they had known as a boy. Alexander the Great and his achievements were ever on his lips, and often in a public gathering he would praise Tiberius and Sulla. He was more arrogant than his father; and his brother, because he was very modest, he thoroughly despised.

After his father's death[4] he went to the Praetorian Camp[5] and complained there to the soldiers that his brother was forming a conspiracy against him. And

period of their joint rule, extending from their arrival to the murder of Geta about 26 Feb., 212, is omitted by the biographer.

[5] At the N.E. corner of the city, near the modern Porta Pia.

atque ita fratrem in Palatio fecit occidi. eius corpus
5 statim cremari praecepit. dixit praeterea in Castris
fratrem sibi venenum parasse, matri eum inreverentem
fuisse ; egitque publice iis gratias qui eum occiderunt.
6 addidit denique his quasi[1] fidelioribus erga se sti-
7 pendium. pars militum apud Albam Getam occisum
aegerrime accepit, dicentibus cunctis duobus[2] se fidem
promisisse liberis Severi, duobus servare debere.
8 clausisque portis diu imperator non admissus nisi
delenitis animis, non solum querellis de Geta et
criminationibus editis sed inormitate stipendii mili-
tibus, ut solet, placatis, atque inde Romam rediit.
9 tunc sub veste senatoria loricam habens cum armatis
militibus Curiam ingressus est. hos in medio inter
subsellia duplici ordine conlocavit et sic verba fecit.
10 questus est de fratris insidiis involute et incondite ad
11 illius accusationem, sui vero excusationem.[3] quod qui-
dem nec senatus libenter accepit, cum ille dixisset
fratri se omnia permisisse, fratrem ab insidiis liberasse,
et illum tamen sibi gravissimas insidias fecisse nec
III. vicem amori reddidisse fraterno. post hoc relegatis
deportatisque reditum in patriam restituit.

[1] *quasi* Peter ; *quos* P. [2] *ducibus* P. [3] So P corr., Peter[1] ; *uero excusationem* om. in P[1] ; *excusationem sui* Peter[2].

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[1] Geta was killed in the arms of his mother ; see Dio, lxxvii. 2.

[2] The biographer has compressed the narrative to the point of obscurity. Immediately after the murder of Geta, Caracalla hurried from the Palace to the Praetorian Camp, where he declared that Geta had made a plot against him. He then promised the soldiers a donative ; see Dio, lxxvii. 3, 1-2 ; Herodian, iv. 4, 3-7.

[3] The Second Legion, the Parthica, which Severus, after his discharge of the praetorian guard in 193 (see *Sev.*, vi. 11),

so he had his brother slain in the Palace,[1] giving orders to burn his body at once. He also said in the Camp[2] that his brother had made preparations to poison him and had shown disrespect to their mother. To those who had killed his brother he rendered thanks publicly, and indeed he even gave them a bonus for being so loyal to him. Nevertheless, some of the soldiers at Alba,[3] received the news of Geta's death with anger, and all declared they had sworn allegiance to both the sons of Severus and ought to maintain it to both.[4] They then closed the gates of the camp, and the Emperor was not admitted for a long time, and then not until he had quieted their anger, not only by bitter words about Geta and by bringing charges against him, but also by enormous sums of money, by means of which, as usual, the soldiers were placated. After this he returned to Rome and then attended a meeting of the senate,[5] wearing a cuirass under his senator's robe and accompanied by an armed guard. He stationed this in a double line in the midst of the benches and so made a speech, in which, with a view to accusing his brother and excusing himself, he complained in a confused and incoherent manner about his brother's treachery. The senate received his speech with little favour, when he said that although he had granted his brother every indulgence and had in fact saved him from a conspiracy, yet Geta had formed a most dangerous plot against him and had made no return for his brotherly affection. III. After this speech he granted

had stationed in permanent garrison at Alba, the modern Albano.

[4] Cf. *Get.*, vi. 1-2.

[5] On the day after the murder; see Dio, lxxvii. 3, 3.

Inde ad praetorianos processit et in Castris mansit.
2 altera die Capitolium petiit. eos quos occidere parabat
adfabiliter est adlocutus[1] innitensque Papiniano et
3 Ciloni ad Palatium rediit. cum flentem matrem Getae
vidisset aliasque mulieres post necem fratris, mulieres
occidere conatus est, sed ob hoc retentus, ne augeretur
4 fratris occisi crudelitas. Laetum ad mortem coegit
misso a se veneno; ipse enim inter suasores Getae
mortis primus fuerat, qui et primus interemptus est.
5 ipse mortem eius saepissime flevit. multos, qui caedis
eius conscii fuerant, interemit, item[2] eum qui imaginem
eius honoravit.
6 Post hoc fratrem patruelem Afrum, cui pridie partes
7 de cena miserat, iussit occidi. qui cum se praecipitas-
set percussorum timore et ad uxorem crure fracto
erepisset, tamen per ludibrium a[3] percussoribus depre-
8 hensus est et occisus. occidit etiam Pompeianum,
Marci nepotem, ex filia natum et ex Pompeiano, cui
nupta fuerat Lucilla post mortem Veri imperatoris,

[1] *locutus* P. [2] *item* ins. by Petschenig and Peter[2]; om. in P, Peter[1]. [3] *a* om. in P, Peter.

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[1] Aemilius Papinianus, the famous jurist. He had been made prefect of the guard in 205 and was much beloved and trusted by Severus. For accounts of his death see c. iv. 1; viii. 1-9; *Get.*, vi. 3.

[2] L. Fabius Cilo, cos. 193; see *Com.*, xx. 1. He held many important offices under Severus, including a second consulship in 204 and the prefecture of the city—alluded to in c. iv. 5. He was much esteemed by Severus and afterwards by Caracalla, but he almost lost his life when Papinian was murdered; see c. iv. 5 and Dio, lxxvii. 4.

[3] Probably Maecius Laetus, co-prefect with Papinian

those who had been exiled or sent into banishment the right of returning to their fatherland.

From the senate he betook himself to the praetorians and spent the night in the Camp. The following day he proceeded to the Capitolium; here he spoke cordially to those whom he was planning to put to death and then went back to the Palace leaning on the arm of Papinian[1] and of Cilo.[2] Here he saw Geta's mother and some other women weeping for his brother's death, and he thereupon resolved to kill them; but he was deterred by thinking how this would merely add to the cruelty of having slain his brother. Laetus,[3] however, he forced to commit suicide, sending him the poison himself; he had been the first to counsel the death of Geta and was himself the first to be killed. Afterwards, however, the Emperor frequently bewailed his death. Many others, too, who had been privy to Geta's murder were put to death, and likewise a man who paid honours to his portrait.

After this he gave orders that his cousin Afer should be killed, although on the previous day he had sent him a portion of food from his own table. Afer in fear of the assassins threw himself from a window and crawled away to his wife with a broken leg, but he was none the less seized by the murderers, who ridiculed him and put him to death. Pompeianus too was killed, the grandson of the Emperor Marcus, —he was the son of his daughter and that Pompeianus[4] who was married to Lucilla after the death of the Emperor Verus and made consul twice by Marcus

[1] According to Dio, lxxvii. 5, 4, Caracalla planned to kill him but refrained because he was very ill.

[4] See *Marc.*, xx. 6 and note.

quem et consulem bis fecerat et omnibus bellis praeposuerat, quae gravissima tunc fuerunt, et ita quidem
IV. ut videretur a latronibus interemptus. dein in conspectu eius Papinianus securi percussus a militibus et occisus est. quo facto percussori dixit, "Gladio te
2 exsequi oportuit meum iussum". occisus est etiam eius iussu Patruinus[1] ante templum Divi Pii, tractaque sunt eorum per plateam cadavera sine aliqua humanitatis reverentia. filium etiam Papiniani, qui ante triduum quaestor opulentum munus ediderat, intere-
3 mit. iisdem diebus occisi sunt innumeri, qui fratris eius partibus faverant. occisi etiam liberti, qui Getae ad-
4 ministraverant. caedes deinde in omnibus locis. et in balneis facta caedes, occisique nonnulli etiam cenantes, inter quos etiam Sammonicus Serenus, cuius libri
5 plurimi ad doctrinam exstant. in summum discrimen etiam Cilo iterum praefectus et consul venit ob hoc
6 quod concordiam inter fratres suaserat. et cum idem Cilo sublata veste senatoria nudis pedibus ab urbanicianis raptus esset, Antoninus seditionem compressit.
7 multas praeterea postea caedes in urbe fecit, passim raptis a militibus nonnullis hominibus et occisis, quasi

[1] *Patruinus* Borghesi ; *patrous* P.

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[1] Cf. *Get.*, vi. 3.

[2] Valerius Patruinus, apparently co-prefect of the praetorian guard and colleague of Papinian and Laetus; see *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, iii. p. 372.

[3] The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, on the N.E. side of the Forum, now the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda.

[4] According to Dio, lxxvii. 4, 1, 20,000 persons were put to death as partisans of Geta. Only the most important are enumerated here.

[5] The author of various works of an antiquarian character, all of which have been lost. His *Rerum Reconditarum Libri* is quoted by Macrobius (*Saturnalia*, iii. 9, 6), who also refers

and placed in command of all the most important wars of the time—and he was killed in such a way as to seem to have been murdered by robbers. IV. Next, in the Emperor's own presence, Papinian was struck with an axe by some soldiers and so slain. Whereupon the Emperor said to the slayer, "You should have used a sword in carrying out my command."[1] Patruinus,[2] too, was slain by his order, and that in front of the Temple of the Deified Pius,[3] and his body as well as Papinian's were dragged about through the streets without any regard for decency. Also Papinian's son was killed, who was a quaestor and only three days before had given a lavish spectacle. During this same time there were slain men without number, all of whom had favoured the cause of Geta,[4] and even the freedmen were slain who had managed Geta's affairs. Then there was a slaughtering in all manner of places. Even in the public baths there was slaughter, and some too were killed while dining, among them Sammonicus Serenus,[5] many of whose books dealing with learned subjects are still in circulation. Cilo, moreover, twice prefect and consul, incurred the utmost danger merely because he had counselled harmony between the brothers. For not until after the city-soldiers[6] had seized Cilo, tearing off his senator's robe and pulling off his boots, did Antoninus check their violence. After this he committed many further murders in the city, causing many persons far and wide to be seized by soldiers and killed, as though he were punishing a rebellion.

to him as *vir saeculo suo doctus*. See also *Get.*, v. 6; *Gord.*, xviii. 2. On his son see *Alex.*, xxx. 2 and note.

[6] The three cohorts under the command of the *praefectus urbi* and responsible for the maintenance of order in Rome.

8 seditionem vindicans. Helvium Pertinacem, suffectum consulem, ob hoc solum quod filius esset imperatoris
9 occidit. neque cessavit umquam sub diversis occasionibus eos interficere, qui fratris amici fuissent.
10 saepe in senatum saepe in populum superbe invectus est aut edictis propositis aut orationibus editis, Sullam se etiam ostendens futurum.

V. His gestis Galliam petiit atque ut primum in
2 eam venit Narbonensem proconsulem occidit. cunctis deinde turbatis qui in Gallia res gerebant odium tyrannicum meruit, quamvis se[1] aliquando fingeret et
3 benignum, cum esset natura truculentus. et cum multa contra homines et contra iura civitatum fecisset, morbo implicitus graviter laboravit. circa eos qui eum curabant crudelissimus fuit.
4 Dein ad orientem profectionem parans omisso itinere in Dacia resedit. circa Raetiam non paucos barbaros

[1] *se* ins. by Klein; om. in P, Peter.

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[1] See *Pert.*, vi. 9; xv. 3. A witticism made by him is supposed to have been the cause of his death; see c. x. 6 and *Get.*, vi. 6.

[2] In the imperial period it was customary for a consul to remain in office for only a portion of the year. The consuls (one of whom was frequently the emperor) who assumed their office on Jan. 1 were known as *consules ordinarii*; those who succeeded them after the expiration of a few months, and also their successors in their turn, were known as *consules suffecti*.

[3] In the spring of 213. His departure was commemorated by an issue of coins with the legend *Profectio Aug(usti)*; see Cohen[2], iv. pp. 503 f., nos. 503-509.

[4] The province of Gallia Narbonensis was named from its capital Narbo, now Narbonne. It included south-eastern France as far north as Vienne and as far west as Toulouse.

[5] The biography omits the account of Caracalla's campaign

He put to death Helvius Pertinax,[1] substitute consul,[2] for no other reason than because he was the son of an emperor, and he would never hesitate, whenever an opportunity presented itself, to put to death those who had been his brother's friends. He often delivered insolent invectives against the senate and against the people, issuing proclamations and publishing harangues, and he even declared that he would be a second Sulla.

V. After doing all this he set out for Gaul[3] and immediately upon his arrival there killed the proconsul of Narbonensis.[4] Thereby great consternation was caused among all who were engaged in administering Gaul, and he incurred the hatred felt for a tyrant; and yet he would at times assume a kindly demeanour, despite the fact that by nature he was very savage. After many measures directed against persons and in violation of the rights of communities he was seized with an illness and underwent great suffering. Yet even toward those who nursed him he behaved most brutally.[5]

Then he made ready for a journey to the Orient,[6] but interrupted his march and stopped in Dacia. In the region of Raetia[7] he put a number of the natives to death and then harangued his soldiers and made

of 213 in northern Raetia (Bavaria) against the Alamanni, his invasion of German territory, and his victory on the river Main, as a result of which he assumed the cognomen *Germanicus Maximus* and issued coins with the legend *Victoria Germanica;* see Cohen[2], iv. p. 210, nos. 645-646.

[6] In the spring of 214. His route was through Carniola and thence down the valley of the Save to the Danube.

[7] The incidents narrated in this and the following sentences are out of place here and should be connected with his campaign of 213.

interemit militesque suos quasi Sullae milites et
5 cohortatus est et donavit. deorum sane se nominibus
appellari vetuit, quod Commodus fecerat, cum multi[1]
eum, quod leonem aliasque feras occidisset, Herculem
6 dicerent. et cum Germanos subegisset, Germanum
se appellavit vel ioco vel serio, ut erat stultus et
demens, adserens, si Lucanos vicisset, Lucanicum se
7 appellandum. damnati sunt eo tempore qui urinam
in eo loco fecerunt in quo statuae aut imagines erant
principis, et qui coronas imaginibus eius detraxerunt,
ut alias ponerent, damnatis et qui remedia quartanis
tertianisque collo adnexas[2] gestarent.

8 Per Thracias cum praefecto praetorii iter fecit.
inde cum in Asiam traiceret, naufragii periculum
adiit antemna fracta, ita ut in scapham cum protec-
toribus descenderet.[3] unde in triremem a praefecto
classis receptus evasit.

9 Excepit apros frequenter, contra leonem etiam
stetit. quando[4] missis ad amicos litteris gloriatus est
seque ad Herculis virtutem accessisse iactavit.

VI. Post hoc ad bellum Armeniacum Parthicumque
conversus ducem bellicum, qui suis competebat mori-

[1] *multi* Lenze; *illi* P, Peter. [2] *adnexa* P, Peter.
[3] *ita descenderet* P; *ita* del. by Novák; *uix descenderet* Peter.
[4] *quando* P, Petschenig; *quo etiam* Peter.

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[1] See *Com.*, viii. 5; ix. 2; *Diad.*, vii. 2-3.

[2] The surname that he actually assumed was Germanicus Maximus; see note to c. iv. 10. Apparently this is some pun on the meaning of *germanus* as "brother," like Cicero's pun *Germanum Cimber occidit*, cited by Quintilian, viii. 3, 29.

them presents quite as though they were the troops of Sulla. He did not, however, as Commodus had done,[1] permit his men to call him by the names of the gods, for many of them had begun to address him as Hercules because he had killed a lion and some other wild beasts. Yet he did call himself Germanus[2] after defeating the Germans, either in jest or in earnest, for he was foolish and witless and asserted that had he conquered the Lucanians[3] he should have been given the name Lucanicus. At that time men were condemned to death for having urinated in places where there were statues or busts of the Emperor or for having removed garlands from his busts in order to replace them by others, and some were even condemned for wearing them around their necks as preventives of quartan or tertian fever.

Then he journeyed through Thrace accompanied by the prefect of the guard. While he was crossing over from here into Asia the yard-arm of his ship broke and he ran great danger of shipwreck, so that, together with his bodyguard, he had to climb down into a lifeboat. From this he was taken up into a trireme by the prefect of the fleet and so was rescued.

He took wild boars in great numbers and once he even faced a lion—an occasion on which he prided himself, writing to his friends and boasting that he had attained to the prowess of a Hercules.

VI. After this, turning to the war with the Armenians and Parthians, he appointed as military commander a man whose character resembled his own.

[3] In Southern Italy. The point of the joke is not evident; possibly some pun on the meaning of Lucanicus as a variety of sausage is intended.

2 bus, fecit. inde Alexandriam petiit, in gymnasium populum convocavit eumque obiurgavit; legi etiam 3 validos ad militiam praecepit. eos autem quos legerat occidit exemplo Ptolemaei Euergetis qui octavus hoc nomine appellatus est. dato praeterea signo militibus, ut hospites suos occiderent, magnam caedem Alexandriae fecit.

4 Dehinc per Cadusios et Babylonios ingressus tumultuarie cum Parthorum satrapis manum contulit, 5 feris etiam bestiis in hostes inmissis. datis ad senatum quasi post victoriam litteris Parthicus appellatus est; nam Germanici nomen patre vivo fuerat consecutus. 6 deinde cum iterum vellet Parthis bellum inferre atque hibernaret Edessae atque inde Carrhas Luni dei gratia venisset, die natali suo, octavo idus Apriles, ipsis Megalensibus, cum ad requisita naturae discessisset, insidiis a Macrino praefecto praetorii positis, qui

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[1] After spending the winter of 214-215 at Nicomedia in Bithynia he travelled through Asia Minor to Antioch, where he remained for some time. From there he went on to Alexandria; see Dio, lxxvii. 18-22.

[2] More correctly, Ptolemy VII. Physcon Euergetes, who died in 116 B.C. For the massacre see Polybius quoted by Strabo, xvii. p. 797 f.

[3] From Alexandria he returned to Antioch, where he spent the winter of 215-216. In the spring of 216 he marched across northern Mesopotamia and over the Tigris to Arbela,

Then he betook himself to Alexandria,[1] and here he called the people together into the gymnasium and heaped abuse on them; he gave orders, moreover, that those who were physically qualified should be enrolled for military service. But those whom he enrolled he put to death, following the example of Ptolemy Euergetes,[2] the eighth of those who bore the name Ptolemy. In addition to this he issued an order to his soldiers to slay their hosts and thus caused great slaughter at Alexandria.

Next he advanced through the lands of the Cadusii and the Babylonians[3] and waged a guerilla-warfare with the Parthian satraps, in which wild beasts were even let loose against the enemy. He then sent a letter to the senate as though he had won a real victory[4] and thereupon was given the name Parthicus[5]; the name Germanicus he had assumed during his father's lifetime.[6] After this he wintered at Edessa[7] with the intention of renewing the war against the Parthians. During this time, on the eighth day before the Ides of April, the feast of the Megalensia[8] and his own birthday, while on a journey 6 Apr., 217.

but apparently, in spite of the statement of the biographer, he did not actually meet the Parthians in battle, for they fled before his advance; see Dio, lxxviii. 1, 1-2.

[4] Coins were issued with the legend *Vic(toria) Part(hica)*; see Cohen,[2] iv. pp. 210 f., nos. 647-656.

[5] This cognomen had been bestowed on him in 199 on the occasion of his father's victory over the Parthians.

[6] But see note to c. v. 3.

[7] Now Urfa, in northern Mesopotamia; here he spent the winter of 216-217.

[8] The feast of the Great Mother (ἡ Μεγάλη Μήτηρ), celebrated at Rome on 4-10 April. According to Dio, lxxviii. 6, 5, his birthday was the 4th April.

post eum invasit imperium, interemptus est. conscii caedis fuerunt Nemesianus et frater eius Apollinaris Triccianusque,[1] qui praefectus legionis secundae Parthicae militabat et qui equitibus extraordinariis praeerat, non ignorantibus Marcio Agrippa, qui classi praeerat, et praeterea plerisque officialium impulsu Martialis.

VII. Occisus est autem in medio itinere inter Carrhas et Edessam, cum levandae vesicae gratia ex equo descendisset atque inter protectores suos, coniuratos caedis, ageret. denique cum illum in equum strator eius levaret, pugione latus eius confodit, conclamatumque ab omnibus est id Martialem fecisse.

3 Et quoniam dei Luni fecimus mentionem, sciendum doctissimis quibusque id memoriae traditum atque ita

[1] *Triccianusque* Henzen; *Recianusque* P, Peter.

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[1] Famous as the scene of the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians in 53 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* the Semitic male moon-deity Sîn, who was worshipped at Carrhae and is depicted on the coins of the city. The name Lunus seems to have been coined for the purpose of indicating the male sex of this deity. It has been incorrectly used by modern writers to designate the Phrygian moon-god Mên (Μήν), who was worshipped throughout Asia Minor, but in reality there is no evidence that this god was ever called Lunus; see Roscher, *Lexicon d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*, ii. 2689, note. In the pseudo-learned discussion in c. vii. 3-5 the cult of Sîn seems hopelessly confused with that of Σελήνη and according to Herodian, iv. 13, 3, Caracalla's intended visit was to the temple of Selene.

[3] Nemesianus and Apollinaris were tribunes in the praetorian guard.

[4] Aelius Decius Triccianus, prefect of the Second Legion under Caracalla and Macrinus, afterwards appointed by Macrinus governor of Pannonia Inferior; see Dio, lxxviii. 13; lxxix. 4.

to Carrhae[1] to do honour to the god Lunus,[2] he stepped aside to satisfy the needs of nature and was thereupon assassinated by the treachery of Macrinus the prefect of the guard, who after his death seized the imperial power. The accomplices in the murder were Nemesianus,[3] his brother Apollinaris, and Triccianus,[4] who was serving as prefect of the Second Legion, the Parthian,[5] and commanded the irregular cavalry. Marcius Agrippa,[6] too, the commander of the fleet, was privy to it, as well as many members of his staff acting on the instigation of Martialis.[7]

VII. He was slain in the course of a journey between Carrhae and Edessa,[8] when he had dismounted for the purpose of emptying his bladder and was standing in the midst of his body-guard, who were accomplices in the murder. For his equerry, while helping him to mount, thrust a dagger into his side, and thereupon all shouted out that it had been done by Martialis.

Now since we have made mention of the god Lunus, it should be known that all the most learned men have handed down the tradition, and it is at this day

[5] See note to c. ii. 7.

[6] A slave by birth, he became an *advocatus fisci* under Severus and was promoted by Caracalla to the posts of *a cognitionibus* and *ab epistulis* and, later, raised to the senatorial order; Macrinus made him governor, first of Pannonia, then of Dacia; see Dio, lxxviii. 13. The fleet which he commanded at this time was probably the one used to transport the troops to Asia Minor.

[7] Julius Martialis, the actual murderer. He was a former soldier, now serving as an *evocatus*, and bore a grudge against Caracalla because he had refused to make him a centurion; see Dio, lxxviii. 5, 3.

[8] On this portion of the *vita* see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxiii.

nunc quoque a Carrhenis praecipue haberi, ut qui Lunam femineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupan-
4 dam is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat; qui vero marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori
5 neque ullas muliebres patiatur insidias. unde, quamvis Graeci vel Aegyptii eo genere quo feminam hominem etiam Lunam deum dicant, mystice tamen Lunum dicunt.[1]

VIII. Scio de Papiniani nece multos ita in litteras rettulisse, ut caedis non adsciverint causam, aliis alia referentibus; sed ego malui varietatem opinionum
2 edere quam de tanti viri caede reticere. Papinianum amicissimum fuisse imperatori Severo eumque cum Severo professum sub Scaevola et Severo in advocatione fisci successisse,[2] ut aliqui loquuntur, adfinem etiam per
3 secundam uxorem, memoriae traditur; et huic praecipue utrumque filium a Severo commendatum atque ob hoc concordiae fratrum Antoninorum favisse[3];
4 egisse quin etiam ne occideretur, cum iam de insidiis eius Bassianus quereretur; atque ideo una cum iis qui fautores fuerant Getae a militibus, non solum permittente verum etiam suadente Antonino, occisum.
5 multi dicunt Bassianum occiso fratre illi mandasse, ut et in senatu pro se et apud populum facinus dilueret,

[1] *Lunum* Hirschfeld; *deum* P, Peter. [2] *eumque . . . successisse* om. in P^1; ins. in P corr.; placed after *commendatum* in Peter's editions, after *Seuero* by Peter, on evidence of P, in *Jahresb.* cxxx. (1906), p. 35; del. as interpolation by Mommsen and Hohl. [3] *fauisse* Salm.; *fuisse* P.

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[1] Cf. c. iv. 1. [2] Julia Domna.

[3] Q. Cervidius Scaevola; see *Marc.*, xi. 10 and note.

[4] See note to *Hadr.*, xx. 6. The statement that Severus held this office is also made in *Get.*, ii. 4; Eutropius, viii. 18; Victor, *Caesares*, xx. 30, but, inasmuch as there is no mention

so held, particularly by the people of Carrhae, that whoever believes that this deity should be called Luna, with the name and sex of a woman, is subject to women and always their slave; whereas he who believes that the god is a male dominates his wife and is not caught by any woman's wiles. Hence the Greeks and, for that matter, the Egyptians, though they speak of Luna as a "god" in the same way as they include woman in "Man," nevertheless in their mystic rites use the masculine "Lunus."

VIII. Many, I know, have told the story of Papinian's death,[1] but in such a way as to show that they did not know its cause, and each has given a different version. I, however, have preferred to record a variety of opinions rather than to remain silent about the murder of so great a man. It is generally reported that Papinian was a close friend of the Emperor Severus—related to him, some say, through his second wife,[2]—and that he had given instruction along with Severus under Scaevola's[3] direction and later succeeded Severus as pleader for the privy-purse.[4] It is further reported that Severus had particularly entrusted him with the care of his two sons, and for this reason he had always tried to reconcile the brothers Antoninus, and had even pleaded with Bassianus, when he accused his brother of treachery, not to put Geta to death; and for this reason he, together with Geta's supporters, was killed by the soldiers, not only with the consent but even with the encouragement of Antoninus. Many, again, relate that Bassianus, after killing his brother, commanded Papinian to explain away his crime

of it in the *vita* of Severus, it is usually regarded as suspicious; see *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, iii. p. 213.

illum autem respondisse non tam facile parricidium
6 excusari posse quam fieri. est etiam haec fabella,
quod dictare noluerit orationem qua invehendum erat
in fratrem ut causa eius melior fieret qui occiderat;
illum autem negantem respondisse illud [1] esse parrici-
7 dium aliud accusare innocentem occisum. sed hoc
omnino non convenit; nam neque praefectus poterat
dictare orationem, et constat eum quasi fautorem
8 Getae occisum. et fertur quidem Papinianus, cum
raptus a militibus ad Palatium traheretur occidendus,
praedivinasse, dicens eum [2] stultissimum fore qui in
suum subrogaretur locum, nisi adpetitam crudeliter
9 praefecturam vindicaret. quod factum est; nam
10 Macrinus Antoninum [3] occidit, ut supra exposuimus.
qui cum filio factus in castris imperator filium suum,
qui Diadumenus vocabatur, Antoninum vocavit, id-
circo quod a praetorianis multum Antoninus desider-
atus est.

IX. Bassianus vixit annis quadraginta tribus. im
2 peravit annis sex. publico funere elatus est. filium
reliquit, qui postea et ipse Marcus Antoninus Helio-
gabalus dictus est; ita enim nomen Antoninorum
inoleverat, ut velli ex animis hominum non posset, quod
omnium pectora velut Augusti nomen obsederat.

[1] *illud* Salm., Peter; *aliud* P. Petschenig, Peter[2]; *dicentem* P.
[2] *dicens eum*
[3] *Antoninum* ins. by Erasmus; om. in P.

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[1] c. vi. 6.

[2] See *Macr.*, ii. 5; v. 1, and notes.

[3] This is an erroneous statement based on the belief that he was the son of Severus' first wife Pacciana Marciana (see note to c. x. 1). He was actually twenty-nine years old at the time of his death; see Dio, lxxviii. 6, 5.

for him in the senate and before the people; to which Papinian replied that it was not so easy to defend fratricide as to commit it. There is also the story that Papinian refused to compose a speech in which, to improve the murderer's case, the brother was to be attacked; and that in his refusal he had declared that to accuse an innocent man who had been murdered was a second act of murder. All of which does not accord with facts; for the prefect of the guard may not compose speeches, and, besides, it is well established that Papinian was killed for being one of Geta's supporters. It is further related that Papinian, when, seized by the soldiers, he was being haled to the Palace to be put to death, foretold the future, saying that whoever should succeed to his position would be an utter fool did he not take vengeance for this brutal attack on the prefecture. And this actually came to pass; for, as we have previously related,[1] Macrinus murdered Antoninus; then, after he had been acclaimed emperor in the camp, together with his son, he gave the latter, who was called Diadumenianus, the name Antoninus,[2] for the reason that an Antoninus was earnestly desired by the praetorian guard.

IX. Bassianus lived for forty-three years[3] and ruled for six. He was borne to the grave with a public funeral. He left a son, who afterward received, like his father, the name Antoninus—Marcus Antoninus Elagabalus[4]; for such a hold had the name of the Antonines that it could not be removed from the thoughts of the people, because it had taken root in the hearts of all, even as had the name of Augustus.

[4] See note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

3 Fuit male moratus et patre duro crudelior. avidus cibi, vini etiam adpetens, suis odiosus et praeter milites praetorianos omnibus castris exosus. prorsus nihil inter fratres simile.

4 Opera Romae reliquit thermas nominis sui eximias, quarum cellam soliarem architecti negant posse ulla 5 imitatione qua facta est fieri. nam et ex aere vel cupro cancelli subterpositi esse dicuntur, quibus cameratio tota concredita est, et tantum est spatii, ut id ipsum fieri negent potuisse docti mechanis. 6 reliquit et porticum patris nomine, quae gesta illius 7 contineret et triumphos et bella. ipse Caracalli nomen accepit a vestimento, quod populo dederat, 8 demisso usque ad talos. quod ante non fuerat. unde hodieque Antoninianae dicuntur caracallae huiusmodi, 9 in usu maxime Romanae plebis frequentatae. idem viam novam munivit, quae est sub eius thermis, Antoninianis scilicet, qua pulchrius inter Romanas 10 plateas non facile quicquam invenias. sacra Isidis Romam deportavit et templa ubique magnifica eidem deae fecit. sacra etiam maiore reverentia celebravit, 11 quam ante celebrabantur. in quo quidem mihi mirum

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[1] The famous *Thermae Antoninianae* or Baths of Caracalla, the impressive ruins of which are on the Via Appia just within the modern Porta San Sebastiano. It was surrounded by a portico built by Elagabalus and Alexander; see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8-9; *Alex.*, xxv. 6.

[2] By this term, the meaning of which is uncertain, the biographer refers to the *frigidarium*, or great entrance-hall, which contains a large swimming-pool. The vaulting of this hall was supported by a sort of grating made of iron bars riveted together, great quantities of which were found in the ruins; see J. H. Middleton, *Remains of Ancient Rome*, ii. p. 163.

[3] See *Sev.*, xxi. 12 and note.

[4] See note to c. i. 1.

His mode of life was evil and he was more brutal even than his cruel father. He was gluttonous in his use of food and addicted to wine, hated by his household and detested in every camp save that of the praetorian guard; and between him and his brother there was no resemblance whatever.

Among the public works which he left at Rome was the notable Bath named after himself,[1] the *cella soliaris*[2] of which, so the architects declare, cannot be reproduced in the way in which it was built by him. For it is said that the whole vaulting rested on gratings of bronze or copper, placed underneath it, but such is its size, that those who are versed in mechanics declare that it could not have been built in this way. And he left a portico, too, named after his father[3] and intended to contain a record of his achievements, both his triumphs and his wars. He himself assumed the name Caracallus, taken from the garment reaching down to the heels,[4] which he gave to the populace and which before his time had not been in vogue. Hence at this present day, too, the hooded cloaks of this kind, affected especially by the Roman plebs, are called Antonine. He also constructed a new street[5] at the side of his bath (that is to say, the Antonine Bath), one more beautiful than which it were hard to find among all the streets of Rome. He brought the cult of Isis to Rome and built magnificent temples to this goddess everywhere, celebrating her rites with even greater reverence than they had ever been celebrated before. In all this, however, it is a source of wonder to me how it can be

[5] Probably the Vicus Sulpicius, a street running across the Via Appia and forming an approach to the south side of the *Thermae Antoninianae*; see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8.

videtur, quemadmodum sacra Isidis primum per hunc Romam venisse dicantur, cum Antoninus Commodus ita ea celebraverit ut et Anubin portaret et pausas ederet; nisi forte iste addidit celebritati, non eam primus invexit.

12 Corpus eius Antoninorum sepulchro inlatum est, ut ea sedes reliquias eius acciperet quae nomen addiderat.

X. Interest scire quemadmodum novercam suam 2 Iuliam uxorem duxisse dicatur. quae cum esset pulcherrima et quasi per neglegentiam se maxima corporis parte nudasset, dixissetque Antoninus, "Vellem, si liceret," respondisse fertur, "Si libet, licet. an nescis 3 te imperatorem esse et leges dare, non accipere?" quo audito furor inconditus ad effectum criminis roboratus est nuptiasque eas celebravit quas, si sciret se leges dare 4 vere, solus prohibere debuisset. matrem enim (non alio dicenda erat nomine) duxit uxorem et ad parricidium iunxit incestum, si quidem eam matrimonio sociavit cuius filium nuper occiderat.

5 Non ab re est etiam diasyrticum quiddam in eum 6 dictum addere. nam cum Germanici[1] et Parthici et Arabici et Alamannici nomen adscriberet (nam Alam-

[1] *Germani* P.

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[1] See *Com.*, ix. 4 and 6; *Pesc. Nig.*, vi. 9.

[2] *i.e.* the Sepulcrum Hadriani; see *Sev.*, xix. 3 and note.

[3] The fabrication of an incestuous relationship between Caracalla and Julia Domna, and the equally false statement that Julia was the Emperor's stepmother, appear together in a definite historical tradition; see notes to *Sev.*, xviii. 8 and xx. 2.

[4] See note to c. v. 6.

[5] See note to c. vi. 5.

[6] The cognomen Arabicus is not found on coins or in official inscriptions. It does appear, however, in a few provincial

said that it was he who first brought the rites of Isis to Rome, for Antoninus Commodus celebrated them too, and he even carried about the statue of Anubis and made all the ritualistic pauses.[1] Perhaps, however, Bassianus merely added to the renown of the goddess and was not actually the first to bring her to Rome.

His body was laid in the tomb of the Antonines,[2] in order that the resting-place which had given him his name might also receive his remains.

X. It is of interest to know the way in which they say he married his stepmother Julia.[3] She was a very beautiful woman, and once when she displayed a considerable part of her person, as it were in carelessness, Antoninus said, "I should like to, if I might," whereupon, they relate, she replied, "If you wish, you may; are you not aware that you are the emperor and that you make the laws and do not receive them?" By these words his violent passion was strengthened for the perpetration of a crime, and he contracted a marriage, which, were he in truth aware that he made the laws, it were his sole duty to forbid. For he took to wife his mother (by no other name should she be called), and to fratricide he added incest, for he joined to himself in marriage the woman whose son he had recently slain.

It is not out of place to include a certain gibe that was uttered at his expense. For when he assumed the surnames Germanicus,[4] Parthicus,[5] Arabicus,[6] and Alamannicus[7] (for he conquered the Alamanni too),

inscriptions, mostly of the years 213-214. It was, therefore, probably not borne officially, or, if so, only for a short time; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, ii. 2437.

[7] There is no evidence that he ever bore the cognomen Alamannicus. The following anecdote is told also in *Get.*, vi. 6.

annorum gentem devicerat) Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, dicitur ioco dixisse, "Adde, si placet, etiam Geticus Maximus," quod Getam occiderat fratrem, et Gothi Getae dicerentur, quos ille, dum ad orientem transiit, tumultuariis proeliis devicerat.

XI. Occidendi Getae multa prodigia exstiterunt, ut
2 in vita eius exponemus. nam quamvis prior ille e vita excesserit, nos tamen ordinem secuti sumus, ut qui et prior natus est et qui prior imperare coeperat, prior scriberetur.
3 Eo sane tempore quo ab exercitu appellatus est Augustus vivo patre, quod ille pedibus aeger gubernare non posse videretur imperium, contunsis animis militum et tribunorum Severus dicitur animo volutasse, ut et hunc occideret, nisi repugnassent[1] praefecti
4 eius, graves[2] viri. aliqui contra dicunt praefectos voluisse id fieri, sed Septimium noluisse, ne et severitas illius crudelitatis nomine inquinaretur, et, cum auctores criminis milites fuerint. adulescens stultae temeritatis poenas lueret tam gravis supplicii titulo, ut a patre videretur occisus.
5 Hic tamen omnium durissimus et, ut uno complectamur verbo, parricida et incestus, patris, matris, fratris inimicus, a Macrino, qui eum occiderat, timore militum et maxime praetorianorum inter deos relatus est.

[1] *pugnassent* P. [2] *grauis* P, Peter.

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[1] *Get.*, iii. 2-9; iv. 5.
[2] See *Sev.*, xviii. 9-11.
[3] His deification at the request of Macrinus is also attested by Dio, lxxviii. 9, 2. On coins and inscriptions of the period of Elagabalus and Alexander he is designated as *Divus Magnus Antoninus*.

Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, said to him in jest, so it is related, "Add to the others, please, that of Geticus Maximus also"; for he had slain his brother Geta, and Getae is a name for the Goths, whom he conquered, while on his way to the East, in a series of skirmishes.

XI. Many omens predicting Geta's murder occurred, as we shall relate in his biography.[1] For although Geta was the first to depart from this life, we shall none the less follow our usual plan, that the first to be born and the first to begin his rule shall be the first to be described.

On that occasion, moreover, when the soldiers hailed him as Augustus though his father was still alive,[2] because it seemed to them that Severus, now afflicted with a disease in his feet, could no longer rule the Empire, Severus, it is said, when the plot of the soldiers and tribunes was crushed, had thought of putting him to death; this, however, was opposed by the prefects, who were men of great influence. Some, on the other hand, say that the prefects wished to have him killed, but Severus refused, for fear that the severity of the act might be misrepresented as a piece of mere cruelty, and that, whereas it was in reality the soldiers who were guilty, the young man might pay the penalty for an act of rash folly with the stigma of a punishment so severe—namely, of seeming to have been put to death by his father.

Nevertheless, this emperor, the most cruel of men, and, to include all in a single phrase, a fratricide and committer of incest, the foe of his father, mother and brother, was raised to the rank of the gods[3] by Macrinus, his slayer, through fear of the soldiers, especially the praetorians. He has a temple, he has a

6 habet templum, habet Salios, habet sodales Antoninianos, qui Faustinae templum et divale nomen eripuit,
7 certe templum quod ei sub Tauri radicibus fundaverat maritus, in quo postea filius huius Heliogabalus Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli—incertum id est—templum fecit.

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[1] This statement is not strictly true; see note to *Marc.*, xv. 4; certainly no Salii were ever created in his honour.

board of Salii, he has an Antonine brotherhood,[1] he who himself took from Faustina not only her temple but also her name as a goddess—that temple, at least, which her husband had built her in the foot-hills of the Taurus,[2] and in which this man's son Elagabalus Antoninus afterwards made a shrine, either for himself or for the Syrian Jupiter (the matter is uncertain) or for the Sun.[3]

[2] See *Marc.*, xxvi. 4.
[3] See *Marc.*, xxvi. 9, and *Heliog.*, i. 5 f.

ANTONINUS GETA

AELII SPARTIANI

I. Scio, Constantine Auguste, et multos et Clementiam tuam quaestionem movere posse cur etiam Geta Antoninus a me tradatur. de cuius priusquam vel vita vel nece dicam, disseram cur et ipsi Antonino a Severo
2 patre sit nomen adpositum. neque enim multa in eius vita dici possunt, qui prius rebus humanis exemptus est quam cum fratre teneret imperium.
3 Septimius Severus quodam tempore cum consuluisset ac petisset ut sibi indicaretur quo esset successore moriturus, in somniis vidit Antoninum sibi suc-
4 cessurum. quare statim ad milites processit et Bassianum, filium maiorem natu, Marcum Aurelium
5 Antoninum appellavit. quod cum fecisset,[1] vel[2] paterna cogitatione vel, ut quidam dicunt, a Iulia uxore commonitus, quae gnara erat somnii, quod minori filio hoc facto ipse interclusisset aditum imperandi, etiam Getam, minorem filium, Antoninum vocari iussit.

[1] *quod fecisset* P. [2] *uel* Jordan, Peter[1]; *et* P.

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[1] There is no real evidence for the statement that this name was given to him; see note to *Sev.*, x. 5. In inscriptions he is regularly called *P. Septimius Geta Nobilissimus Caesar.*

[2] This is also related in *Sev.*, x. 4.

ANTONINUS GETA

BY

AELIUS SPARTIANUS

I. I am well aware, Constantine Augustus, that many besides Your Clemency may raise the question why I should also write the life of Geta Antoninus. With regard to this man, before I tell of his life, or rather of his death, I will set forth the reason why his father Severus gave to him too the name Antoninus.[1] For there is not much to relate in the life of a man who was removed from human affairs before he could take the imperial power conjointly with his brother.

Once when Septimius Severus asked about the future and prayed that it might be revealed to him who should be his successor when he died, he learned from a dream that an Antoninus would succeed him. Whereupon he went at once to the army and gave Bassianus, the elder of his sons, the name Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.[2] After this, when it was brought to his mind either by fatherly reflection, or, as some relate, by Julia his wife, who was skilled in dreams, that by this action he himself had cut off his younger son from any chance of reigning, he ordered that Geta, his younger son, should also receive the name Antoninus. And so he always gave him this name in

6 itaque semper ab eo in epistulis familiaribus dictus
7 est, cum si forte abesset scriberet, "Salutate Antoninos filios et successores meos". sed nihil valuit patris cautio, nam ei solus ille successit qui primus Antonini nomen accepit. et haec de Antonini nomine.

II. Geta autem dictus est vel a patrui nomine vel avi paterni, de cuius vita et moribus in vita Severi Marius
2 Maximus primo septenario satis copiose rettulit. fuit autem Antoninus Geta etiam ob hoc ita dictus quod in animo habuit Severus, ut omnes deinceps principes, quemadmodum Augusti, ita etiam Antonini dicerentur, et quidem [1] amore Marci, quem fratrem suum semper [2] dicebat et cuius philosophiam litterarumque institu-
3 tionem semper imitatus est. dicunt aliqui non in Marci honorem tantum Antonini nomini delatum, cum id Marcus adoptivum habuerit, sed in eius qui Pius cognominatus est, Hadriani scilicet successoris,
4 et quidem ob hoc quod Severum ille ad fisci advocationem delegerat ex formulario forensi, cum ad tantos processus ei patuisset dati ab Antonino primi
5 gradus vel honoris auspicium, simul quod nemo ei videretur felicior imperator ad commodandum nomen

[1] *et quidem* Editor; *atque* P; *idque* Salm., Peter.
[2] *quem fratrem suum semper* Jordan; *uel f. s. sem* P.

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[1] See *Sev.*, viii. 10 and note.
[2] See *Sev.*, i. 2 and note.
[3] The meaning of *septenarius*, as used here, is unknown.
[4] Cf. *Sev.*, xix. 3.
[5] In his inscriptions, however, Severus called himself *Divi Marci Antonini filius*; see note to *Sev.*, x. 6.

letters to members of his household, writing, whenever he chanced to be absent from home, "Give greetings to the Antonines, my sons and successors". But all his fatherly care was of no avail, for he was succeeded by that son alone who had first been given the name Antoninus. So much about the name Antoninus.

II. Now Geta was named after either his uncle[1] or his paternal grandfather,[2] concerning whose life and habits Marius Maximus has written at sufficient length in the first section[3] of his *Life of Severus*. He was given the surname Antoninus, moreover, because Severus purposed that every emperor from that time onward should be called Antoninus, just as they were called Augustus.[4] This he did out of love for Marcus, whom he always called his brother,[5] and whose studies in philosophy and training in letters he always sought to imitate. Some say, however, that it was not only in honour of Marcus that Severus gave his son the name Antoninus, since this was Marcus' name by adoption only,[6] but also in honour of him who bore the surname Pius, Hadrian's successor, I mean; and, furthermore, that Severus gave it because it was this emperor who raised him from a pettifogger in the law-courts to the post of pleader for the privy-purse,[7] and the way to great advancement had been opened up to him by the happy augury of an appointment by Antoninus to the first step in his career, or rather his first public office; and at the same time because no prince seemed to him more auspicious for lending

[6] See *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1 and note.

[7] On this office see note to *Hadr.*, xx. 6. On this statement that it was held by Severus see note to *Carac.*, viii. 3.

eo principe cuius proprium nomen iam per quattuor principes cucurrisset.

6 De hoc eodem Severus, gnarus geniturae illius, cuius, ut plerique Afrorum, peritissimus fuit, dixisse
7 fertur: "Mirum mihi videtur, Iuvenalis amantissimus, Geta noster divus futurus, cuius nihil imperiale in genitura video". erat enim Iuvenalis praefectus eius
8 praetorii. nec eum fefellit. nam Bassianus, cum eum occidisset ac vereretur tyrannicam ex parricidio notam audiretque posse mitigari facinus, si divum fratrem
9 appellaret, dixisse fertur, "Sit divus, dum non sit vivus". denique eum inter divos rettulit atque ideo utcumque rediit cum [1] fama in gratiam parricida.

III. Natus est Geta Severo et Vitellio consulibus Mediolani, etsi aliter alii prodiderunt, VI kal. Iunias ex Iulia, quam idcirco Severus uxorem duxerat quod eam in genitura habere compererat ut regis uxor esset,
2 isque privatus sed iam optimi in re publica loci. statim ut natus est, nuntiatum est ovum gallinam in aula
3 peperisse purpureum. quod cum allatum Bassianus frater eius accepisset et quasi parvulus adplosum ad terram fregisset, Iulia dixisse ioco fertur, "Maledicte
4 parricida, fratrem tuum occidisti." idque quod ioco

[1] *cum* om. in P.

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[1] Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, and Commodus.

[2] Cf. *Sev.*, iii. 9.

[3] Flavius Juvenalis, the prefect of the guard, appointed by Didius Julianus and retained in office by Severus; see *Sev.*, vi. 5.

[4] The play on words in *divus*, *vivus* cannot be reproduced. So far from being deified, Geta underwent *damnatio memoriae*; his statues were overthrown, his name was erased from public monuments, and coins bearing his effigy were melted down; see Dio, lxxvii. 12, 6 and inscriptions, *e.g.*, Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 458-460.

his name, than the one whose personal name had now been borne by four of the emperors.[1]

With regard to this same Geta, Severus, on learning his horoscope—a study in which, like most Africans, he was very proficient[2]—is said to have made the remark: "It seems to me strange, my dear Juvenalis,[3] that our Geta is destined to be a deified emperor, for in his horoscope I see nothing imperial." Now Juvenalis was his prefect of the guard. And Severus was not mistaken. For when Bassianus had killed Geta and was in fear of being branded as a tyrant because of his act of fratricide, he was told that his crime could be mitigated were he to give his brother the appellation of the Deified; he then remarked, it is said, "Let him be deified provided he is not alive".[4] Accordingly, he placed him among the deified emperors and so came back into favour with a good reputation, fratricide though he was.

III. Geta was born in the consulship of Severus and Vitellius on the sixth day before the Kalends of June at Mediolanum[5]—though some have related otherwise. He was the son of Julia, whom Severus married because he found out that her horoscope showed that she should be the wife of a king,[6] while he was still only a subject, though he held even then an excellent place in the state. Immediately after Geta was born some one announced that a purple egg had been laid by a hen in the palace. This egg was then brought in, and Bassianus his brother, seizing it, dashed it upon the ground, as a child would do, and broke it; whereupon Julia, it is said, exclaimed in jest, "Accursed fratricide, you have killed your brother". But this, 27 May, 189

[5] According to *Sev.*, iv. 2, he was born in Rome.
[6] Cf. *Sev.*, iii. 9.

dictum est[1] Severus altius quam quisquam praesentium accepit, a circumstantibus autem postea velut divinitus
5 effusum adprobatum est. fuit etiam aliud omen: nam cum in villa cuiusdam Antonini, plebei hominis, agnus natus esset, qui vellus in fronte purpureum haberet, eadem die atque hora qua Geta natus est, audissetque ille ab haruspice post Severum Antoninum imperaturum, ac de se ille auguraretur sed tamen
6 talis fati timeret indicium, ferro eum adegit. quod et ipsum signo fuit Getam ab Antonino interimendum,
7 ut postea satis claruit. fuit etiam aliud omen ingens, ut postea[2] exitus docuit, huius facinoris quod evenit:
8 nam cum infantis Getae natalem Severus commendare vellet, hostiam popa nomine Antoninus percussit.
9 quod tunc nec quaesitum nec animadversum, post vero intellectum est.

IV. Fuit adulescens decorus, moribus asperis, sed non impius, amorum tractator,[3] gulosus, cupidus ciborum
2 et vini varie conditi. huius illud pueri fertur insigne quod cum vellet partium diversarum viros Severus occidere et inter suos diceret, "Hostes vobis eripio," consentiretque adeo usque Bassianus, ut eorum etiam liberos, si sibi consuleret, diceret occidendos, Getae interrogasse fertur quantus esset interficiendorum
3 numerus; cumque dixisset pater, ille interrogavit "Isti habent parentes, habent propinquos?" cum re-

[1] *idque quod ioco dictum est* Editor; *idque ioco quod dictum* P; [*idque ioco*] *quod dictum* Peter. [2] so Peter; *ut postea ingens* P. [3] *amorum tractator* Editor; *anarbore tractator* P; †*anarbo retractator* Peter.

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[1] Especially the partisans of Clodius Albinus; see *Sev.*, xiii

which was said as a jest, Severus took more seriously than any of those who were present, though afterwards all who were there testified to it as uttered by divine inspiration. There was also another omen. For on the very day and at the very hour when Geta was born, there was born on the farm of a certain plebeian named Antoninus, a lamb which had purple wool on its forehead; thereupon the owner, learning from a soothsayer that after Severus an Antoninus should reign, interpreted the prophecy as referring to himself, but fearing any indication of so great a destiny, he thrust a knife in the lamb. And this too was a sign that Geta should be killed by Antoninus, as became later abundantly clear. There was, moreover, as was later shown by the outcome, another important prediction of the crime which indeed came to pass. For when Severus was making ready to celebrate the birthday of the infant Geta, the sacrificial victim was slain by a boy named Antoninus. At the time no one looked for a hidden meaning in this or commented upon it, but later its importance was understood.

IV. As a youth, he was handsome, brusque in his manners though not disrespectful, incontinent in love, gluttonous, and a lover of food and of wine variously spiced. There is quoted a famous remark of his in his boyhood; for when Severus was planning to kill the men of the opposite factions[1] and said to his family, "I am ridding you of your enemies," Bassianus gave his approval, even declaring that should he be consulted, their children too should be slain, but Geta, it is said, asked how large was the number of those to be put to death. When his father informed him, he asked again, "Have they

sponsum esset habere, ait, "Tum plures[1] ergo in
4 civitate tristes erunt quam laeti, quod vicimus". et
obtinuisset eius sententia nisi Plautianus praefectus
vel Iuvenalis institissent spe proscriptionum, ex quibus
ditati sunt. his accedebat Bassiani fratris nimia
5 crudelitas. qui cum contenderet et diceret, quasi
ioco quasi serio, omnes cum liberis occidendos partium
diversarum, Geta ei dixisse dicitur, "Tu qui nulli
parcis, potes et fratrem occidere". quod dictum eius
tunc nihil, post vero pro praesagio fuit.

V. Fuit in litteris adsequendis tenax veterum scriptorum, paternarum etiam sententiarum memor, fratri semper invisus, matri amabilior quam frater, subbalbe
2 tamen canorus. vestitus nitidi cupidissimus, ita ut
pater rideret. si quid accepit a parentibus, ad suum
contulit cultum neque quicquam cuipiam dedit.
3 Post Parthicum bellum cum ingenti gloria pater[2]
floreret, Bassiano participi imperii appellato Geta
quoque Caesaris et Antonini, ut quidam dicunt,
nomen accepit.
4 Familiare illi fuit has quaestiones grammaticis pro-
ponere, ut dicerent singula animalia quomodo vocem
5 emitterent, velut: agni balant, porcelli grunniunt,

[1] so Peter; *haberet complures* P. [2] *pater* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] C. Fulvius Plautianus; see note to *Sev.*, xiv. 5.
[2] See c. ii. 7 and note.
[3] See *Sev.*, xvi. 4.

parents, have they kinsmen?" And when answer was made that they had, he remarked, "Then there will be more in the state to mourn than to make merry at our victory." And he would have carried his point, had not the prefect Plautianus,[1] or rather Juvenalis,[2] stood out against him in the hope of proscriptions, from which they became enriched. They were also encouraged by the great brutality of Bassianus. He, in the course of his argument, urged, half in jest half in earnest, that all those of the opposite factions be slain together with their children; whereupon Geta, it is said, exclaimed, "You, who spare no one, are capable even of killing your brother"—a remark which received no attention then, but afterwards passed for an omen.

V. In his literary studies he held fast to the ancient writers. He was ever mindful of his father's sayings, always regarded by his brother with hatred, more affectionate than his brother toward their mother, speaking with a stammer though his voice was melodious. He was very fond of bright clothing —so much so, in fact, that his father would laugh at him. Whatever he received from his parents he used for his own adornment, and he never gave presents to any.

After the Parthian war, his father, who was then at the height of his glory and had named Bassianus partner in the imperial power, gave Geta the name of Caesar[3] and, according to some, of Antoninus also.

It was a common practice of his to propound puzzles to the grammarians, asking them to characterize the cries of the different animals, as for example: the lamb bleats, the pig squeals, the dove

palumbes minurriunt, porci grunniunt, ursi saeviunt, leones rugiunt, leopardi rictant, elephanti barriunt, ranae coaxant, equi hinniunt, asini rudunt,[1] tauri mugiunt, easque de veteribus adprobare. Sereni
6 Sammonici libros familiarissimos habuit, quos ille ad
7 Antoninum scripsit. habebat etiam istam consuetudinem, ut convivia et maxime prandia per singulas litteras iuberet scientibus servis, velut in quo erat
8 anser, apruna, anas, item pullus, perdix, pavus, porcellus, piscis, perna et quae in eam litteram genera edulium caderent, et item phasianus, farrata, ficus et talia. quare comis etiam habebatur in adulescentia.

VI. Occiso eo pars militum quae incorrupta erat parricidium aegerrime accepit, dicentibus cunctis duobus se liberis fidem promisisse, duobus servare debere, clausisque portis diu non est imperator admissus.
2 denique nisi querellis de Geta editis et animis militum delenitis, inormibus etiam stipendiis datis Romam
3 Bassianus redire non potuit. post hoc denique et Papinianus et multi alii interempti sunt, qui vel concordiae faverant [2] vel qui partium Getae fuerant, ita ut utriusque ordinis viri et in balneo et cenantes et in publico percuterentur, Papinianus ipse securi percussus sit, improbante Bassiano, quod non gladio res
4 peracta sit. ventum denique est usque ad seditionem urbanicianorum militum, quos quidem non levi auctoritate Bassianus compressit, tribuno eorum, ut alii

[1] *rudiunt* Peter; *ragiunt* P. [2] *fuerant* P.

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[1] See *Carac.*, iv. 4 and note. [2] Lit., "wild-boar meat."
[3] A variety of duck.
[4] Repeated from *Carac.*, ii. 7-8.
[5] See *Carac.*, iv. [6] See *Carac.*, iv. 6 and note.

coos, the hog grunts, the bear growls, the lion roars, the leopard snarls, the elephant trumpets, the frog croaks, the horse neighs, the ass brays, the bull bellows; and in proof he would cite the ancient writers. His favourite books were the works of Serenus Sammonicus,[1] addressed by him to Antoninus. He was accustomed, moreover, to have skilful slaves serve meals, and especially dinners, according to a single letter of the alphabet, as, for instance, one in which there were goose, gammon,[2] and gadwall,[3] or, again, pullet, partridge, peacock, pork, *poisson*, pig's-thigh, and other kinds of food beginning with this letter, or pheasant, farina, figs and so forth. For this reason he was considered a good comrade, even in his youth.

VI. After the murder of Geta, those soldiers who had not been bribed received the news of the fratricide with anger, and all declared they had sworn allegiance to both sons and ought to maintain it to both.[4] They then closed the gates of the Camp and for a long time the Emperor was not admitted. And not until he had quieted their anger by bitter words about Geta and by giving them great sums of money, was Bassianus able to return to Rome. Next, Papinian and many others besides, who had either desired concord or had been partisans of Geta, were killed[5]; men of both senatorial and equestrian rank were slain while in the bath, or at table, or in the street, and Papinian himself was struck down with an axe, whereupon Bassianus found fault that the business had not been done with a sword. At last matters came to the point of a mutiny among the city-troops[6]; Bassianus, however, brought them to order with no light hand, and their tribune was put to death,

5 dicunt, interfecto, ut alii, relegato. ipse autem tantum timuit, ut loricam sub lato habens clavo etiam Curiam sit ingressus atque ita rationem facti sui et 6 necis Geticae reddiderit. quo quidem tempore Helvius Pertinax, qui postea est ab eodem Bassiano interemptus, recitanti Faustino[1] praetori et dicenti "Sarmaticus maximus et Parthicus maximus," dixisse dicitur, "Adde et Geticus maximus," quasi Gothicus. 7 quod dictum altius in pectus Bassiani descendit, ut postea nece Pertinacis est adprobatum, nec solum Pertinacis sed et aliorum, ut supra dictum est, passim 8 et inique. Helvium autem etiam suspectum habuit adfectatae tyrannidis, quod esset in amore omnium et filius Pertinacis imperatoris. quae res nulli facile privato satis tuta est.

VII. Funus Getae accuratius fuisse dicitur quam eius 2 qui fratri videretur occisus. inlatusque est maiorum sepulchro, hoc est Severi, quod est in Appia Via euntibus ad portam dextra, specie Septizonii exstructum, quod sibi ille vivus ornaverat.

3 Occidere voluit et matrem Getae, novercam suam, quod fratrem lugeret, et mulieres, quas post reditum 4 de Curia flentes repperit. fuit praeterea eius inmanitatis Antoninus, ut iis praecipue blandiretur quos ad

[1] *faustum* P.

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[1] See *Carac.*, ii. 9-11.

[2] See *Carac.*, iv. 8.

[3] This cognomen was never borne by Caracalla. For the pun on Geticus and Gothicus see *Carac.*, x. 6.

[4] The biographer has confused the Sepulchrum Hadriani, where the Antonines and Severus (and later Caracalla) were buried (see *Sev.*, xix. 3 and *Carac.*, ix. 12), with the Septizonium built by Severus on the Palatine Hill, facing the Via Appia (see *Sev.*, xix. 5).

as some relate, or, as others, sent into exile. Yet Bassianus himself was in such fear that he entered the Senate-house wearing a cuirass under his broad-striped tunic and thus clad rendered an account of his actions and of the death of Geta.[1] It was at this time, too, it is said, that Helvius Pertinax, the son of Pertinax, afterwards killed by Bassianus,[2] remarked to the praetor Faustinus, who was reading aloud and had uttered the titles Sarmaticus Maximus[3] and Parthicus Maximus, "Add to these also Geticus Maximus," that is to say, Gothicus. This remark sank deep into the heart of Bassianus, as was afterwards proved by his murder of Pertinax, and not of Pertinax alone, but, as we have said before, of many others as well, far and wide and with utter injustice. He suspected Helvius, moreover, of aspiring to the imperial office, merely because he was loved by all and was the son of Pertinax the Emperor—a combination none too safe for any man content to remain a commoner.

VII. The funeral of Geta was too splendid, it is said, for a man supposed to have been killed by his brother. He was laid in the tomb of his ancestors, of Severus, that is, on the Via Appia at the right as you go to the gate[4]; it was constructed after the manner of the Septizonium, which Severus during his life had embellished for himself.

Antoninus also planned to slay Geta's mother, his own step-mother,[5] because she mourned for his brother, and with her the women whom on his return from the Senate-house he found in tears. He was, moreover, so cruel that he lavished his favours particularly on those whom he had destined for death,

[5] See note to *Carac.*, x. 1.

necem destinabat, ut eius magis blandimentum
5 timeretur quam iracundia. mirum sane omnibus
videbatur quod mortem Getae totiens etiam ipse fleret
quotiens nominis eius mentio fieret, quotiens imago
6 videretur aut statua. varietas autem tanta fuit An-
tonini Bassiani, immo tanta [1] sitis caedis, ut modo
fautores Getae, modo inimicos occideret, quos fors
obtulisset. quo facto magis Geta desiderabatur.

[1] *immota* P.

so that his favour was viewed with more fear than his anger. It seemed, indeed, strange to all that he himself wept for the death of Geta whenever he heard his name mentioned or saw his portrait or his statue. Such, however, was the caprice, or rather the bloodthirstiness, of Antoninus Bassianus, that he slew, now the partisans of Geta, and now his enemies, according as chance threw them in his way. As a result, Geta was the more regretted.

OPILIUS MACRINUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Vitae illorum principum seu tyrannorum sive Caesarum qui non diu imperaverunt in obscuro latent, idcirco quod neque de privata eorum vita digna sunt quae dicantur, cum omnino ne scirentur quidem, nisi adspirassent ad imperium, et de imperio, quod non diu tenuerunt, non multa dici possunt. nos tamen ex diversis historicis eruta in lucem proferemus, et ea 2quidem quae memoratu digna erunt. non enim est quisquam qui[1] in vita non ad diem quodcumque fecerit. sed eius qui vitas aliorum scribere orditur officium est 3digna cognitione perscribere. et Iunio quidem Cordo studium fuit eorum imperatorum vitas edere quos 4obscuriores videbat. qui non multum profecit; nam et pauca repperit et indigna memoratu, adserens se minima quaeque persecuturum, quasi vel de Traiano

[1] *qui* ins. by Baehrens and Peter[2]; om. in P.

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[1] In the manuscripts of the *Historia Augusta*, Victor, and Eutropius, the gentile name of Macrinus is regularly spelled Opilius. On coins and in inscriptions, however, it is invariably given as Opellius, and this is evidently the correct form.

OPELLIUS[1] MACRINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. The lives of such emperors, usurpers or Caesars, as held their throne for no long time lie hidden away in darkness, because, in the first place, there is nothing in their private lives worth telling, since they would have remained totally unknown had they not aspired to the throne; and, in the second place, not much can be said about their sovereignty, because they did not hold it long. None the less, we shall bring forward what we have discovered in various historical works—and they shall be facts that are worthy to be related. For there is no man who has not done something or other every day of his life; it is the business of the biographer, however, to relate only those events that are worth the knowing. Junius Cordus,[2] indeed, was fond of publishing the lives of those emperors whom he considered the more obscure. He did not, however, accomplish much; for he found but little information and that not worth noting. He openly declared that he would search out the most trivial details, as though, in dealing with a Trajan, a Pius, or

[2] On the biographer Aelius Junius Cordus see Introduction to Vol. i. p. xviii.

aut Pio aut Marco sciendum sit, quotiens processerit, quando cibos variaverit et quando vestem mutaverit et quos quando promoverit. quae ille omnia exsequendo libros mythistoriis replevit talia scribendo, cum omnino rerum vilium aut nulla scribenda sint aut nimis pauca, si tamen ex his mores possint animadverti, qui re vera sciendi sunt, sed ex parte, ut ex ea cetera colligantur.

II. Occiso ergo Antonino Bassiano Opilius Macrinus, praefectus praetorii eius, qui antea privatas curarat,[1] imperium arripuit, humili natus loco et animi atque oris inverecundi, seque nunc Severum nunc Antoninum, cum in odio esset omnium et hominum et militum, nuncupavit. statimque ad bellum Parthicum profectus et iudicandi de se militibus et rumoribus, quibus premebatur, adulescendi potestatem demit; quamvis senatus eum imperatorem odio Antonini Bassiani libenter acceperit, cum in senatu omnibus una vox esset: "Quemvis magis quam parricidam, quemvis magis quam incestum, quemvis magis quam impurum, quemvis magis quam interfectorem et senatus et populi."

Et mirum omnibus fortasse videatur, cur Diadume-

[1] *priuatus cubabat* P.

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[1] See *Carac.*, vi. 6—vii. 2.

[2] He was *procurator rei privatae* (see also c. vii. 1). On this office see note to *Com.*, xx. 1.

[3] So also Dio; see lxxviii. 11, 1. On the other hand, there seems to be no foundation for the insulting remarks said to have been made about him after his downfall; see c. iv. 1-6.

[4] His official name after his accession was M. Opellius

a Marcus, it should be known how often he went out walking, when he varied his diet, and when he changed his clothes, whom he advanced in public life and at what time. By searching out all this sort of thing and recording it, he filled his books with gossip, whereas either nothing at all should be said of petty matters or certainly very little, and then only when light can thereby be thrown on character. It is character, of course, that we really want to know, but only to a certain extent, that from this the rest may be inferred.

II. Now after the murder of Antoninus Bassianus,[1] Opellius Macrinus, who was his prefect of the guard and had previously been the steward of his private property,[2] laid hold upon the imperial power. Though of humble origin [3] and shameless in spirit as well as in countenance, and though hated by all, both civilians and soldiers, he nevertheless proclaimed himself now Severus and now Antoninus.[4] Then he set out at once for the Parthian war [5] and thus gave no opportunity either for the soldiers to form an opinion of him, or for the gossip by which he was beset to gain its full strength. The senators, however, out of hatred for Antoninus Bassianus, received him as emperor gladly, and in all the senate there was but the one cry: "Anyone rather than the fratricide, anyone rather than the incestuous, anyone rather than the filthy, anyone rather than the slayer of the senate and people!" [6]

It may perhaps seem to all a matter for wonder

Severus Macrinus Augustus. He never bore the name Antoninus.

[5] In the summer of 217; see c. viii. 3 and note.

[6] The same attitude is shown in Dio, lxxviii. 18.

num filium Macrinus Antoninum [1] voluerit nuncupari,
III. cum auctor necis Antoninianae fuisse dicatur. de
ipso quae in annales relata sint proferam: vates
Caelestis apud Carthaginem, quae dea [2] repleta solet
vera canere, sub Antonino Pio, cum sciscitante pro-
consule de statu, ut solebat, publico et de suo imperio
futura praediceret, ubi ad principes ventum est, clara
voce numerari iussit quotiens diceret Antoninum,
tuncque adtonitis omnibus Antonini nomen [3] octavo
2 edidit. sed credentibus cunctis quod octo annis
Antoninus Pius imperaturus esset, et ille transcendit
hunc annorum numerum, et constitit apud credentes
vel tunc vel postea per vatem aliud designatum.
3 denique adnumeratis omnibus qui Antonini appellati
4 sunt is Antoninorum numerus invenitur. enimvero
Pius primus, Marcus secundus, Verus tertius, Com-
modus quartus, quintus Caracallus, sextus Geta,
septimus Diadumenus, octavus Heliogabalus Antonini
5 fuere. nec inter Antoninos referendi sunt duo Gor-
diani, qui aut [4] praenomen tantum Antoninorum
habuerunt aut etiam Antonii dicti sunt non Antonini.
6 inde est quod se et Severus Antoninum vocavit, ut
plurimi ferunt,[5] et Pertinax et Iulianus et idem
7 Macrinus; et ab ipsis Antoninis, qui veri successores

[1] so Cas. and Peter; *Diadumenus filius Macrini Antoninus* P. [2] *dea* Peter[2]; *de P.* [3] *nomen Augusti* P; *Augusti* del. by Jordan and Peter. [4] *qui aut* Egnatius; *aut qui* P; *ut qui* Peter. [5] *et plurimi fuerunt* P.

[1] He is called Diadumenus in the *Historia Augusta* and by Eutropius and Victor. On coins and in inscriptions, however, and in Dio and Herodian his name is invariably given as Diadumenianus, and this is evidently the correct form. After his father's accession to power he was officially called M. Opellius Antoninus Diadumenianus Caesar.

that Macrinus wished his son Diadumenianus [1] to receive the name Antoninus, when he himself, it was reported, was responsible for the murder of an Antoninus. III. Concerning this matter I will relate what has been recorded in books of history. The priestess of Caelestis [2] at Carthage was wont, when inspired by the goddess, to predict the truth. Now once, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, she was foretelling the future to the proconsul, who, according to custom, was consulting about the public welfare as well as his own hopes of power, and when she came to the emperors she bade him in a loud voice count the number of times she said Antoninus. Then, to the amazement of all, she uttered the name Antoninus eight times. All interpreted this to mean that Antoninus Pius would reign for eight years, but he exceeded this number and those who had faith in the priestess, either then or later, felt sure that her words had some different meaning. And in fact, if all who bore the name Antoninus be counted, this will be found to be their number. For Pius first, Marcus second, Verus third, Commodus fourth, Caracalla fifth, Geta sixth, Diadumenianus seventh, Elagabalus eighth—all bore the name Antoninus; while the two Gordians, on the other hand, must not be placed among the Antonini, for they either had only their praenomen or were called Antonii, not Antonini.[3] Hence it came about that Severus called himself Antoninus, as most writers relate, and Pertinax too and Julianus, and likewise Macrinus [4]; and the Antonines themselves, who were the true successors of Antoninus, used this name

[2] See *Pert.*, iv. 2 and note.
[3] See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and note.
[4] None of these four ever assumed the name Antoninus.

Antonini fuerunt, hoc nomen magis quam proprium
8 retentum est. haec alii. sed alii idcirco Antoninum
Diadumenum a Macrino patre appellatum ferunt,
ut suspicio a Macrino interfecti Antonini militibus
9 tolleretur. alii vero tantum desiderium nominis huius
fuisse dicunt, ut, nisi populus et milites Antonini
nomen audirent, imperatorium non putarent.

IV. Et de Macrino quidem in senatu multis, quando
nuntiatum est Varium Heliogabalum imperare,[1] cum
iam Caesarem Alexandrum senatus dixisset, ea dicta
sunt ut [2] appareat ignobilem,[3] sordidum, spurcum fuisse.
2 verba denique Aurelii Victoris, cui Pinio cognomen
3 erat, haec fuerunt: Macrinum libertinum, hominem
prostibulum, servilibus officiis occupatum in domo im-
peratoria, venali fide, vita sordida sub Commodo, a
Severo remotum etiam a miserrimis officiis relegatum-
que in Africam, ubi, ut infamiam damnationis tegeret,
lectioni operam dedisse, egisse causulas, declamasse,
4 ius [4] postremo dixisse; donatum autem anulis aureis,
patrocinante sibi conliberto suo Festo, advocatum fisci
5 factum sub Vero Antonino. sed et haec dubia
ponuntur, et alia dicuntur ab aliis, quae ipsa quoque
non tacebimus. nam plerique gladiatoriam pugnam

[1] *imperare* Peter; *imperatorem* P. [2] *ut* om. in P.
[3] *nobilem* P. [5] *in* P.

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[1] See c. ix-x.

[2] On these statements see note to c. ii. 1.

[3] Otherwise unknown and perhaps wholly fictitious.

[4] Worn by members of the equestrian order as a sign of their rank.

[5] This is, of course, not Lucius Verus, for Macrinus was not born until 164; either Commodus or Severus must be meant. Such an error in the name of the emperor is a fair indication of the value of the whole passage.

rather than their own personal names. Thus some have related it. Others, however, assert that Macrinus gave the name Antoninus to his son Diadumenianus merely for the purpose of removing the soldiers' suspicion that he himself had slain Antoninus. Others, again, declare that so great was the love for this name that the people and soldiers would not deem a man worthy of the imperial power did they not hear him called by the name Antoninus.

IV. Now with regard to Macrinus himself, many of the senators, when the news had been brought that Varius Elagabalus was emperor,[1] and when the senate had hailed Alexander as Caesar, related such things as to make it clear that he was ignoble, low, and base. In fact, such statements[2] as these were made by Aurelius Victor, surnamed Pinius[3]: that Macrinus under the reign of Commodus was a freedman and a public prostitute, engaged in servile tasks about the imperial palace; that his honour could be purchased and his manner of life was base; that Severus had even dismissed him from his wretched duties and banished him to Africa, where, in order to conceal the disgrace of his condemnation, he devoted himself to reading, pleaded minor cases, engaged in declamation, and finally administered the law; further, that through the support of his fellow-freedman Festus, he was presented with the golden ring,[4] and under Verus Antoninus[5] was made pleader for the privy-purse.[6] But not only are these statements reported as doubtful, but others are made by various authors, which also we will not fail to relate. For many have said that he fought in a gladiatorial

[6] See note to *Hadr.*, xx. 6.

eum exhibuisse dixerunt et accepta rudi ad Africam
6 isse ; venatorem primo, post etiam tabellionem fuisse, deinceps advocatum fuisse fisci. ex quo officio ad
7 amplissima quaeque pervenit. dein cum esset praefectus praetorii collega ablegato, Antoninum Caracallum imperatorem suum interemit tanta factione,[1]
8 ut ab eo non videretur occisus. nam stratore eius redempto et spe ingenti proposita, id egit ut quasi militaribus insidiis, quod vel ob parricidium vel incestum[2] displiceret, interemptus diceretur.

V. Statim denique arripuit imperium filio Diadumeno in participatum adscito, quem continuo, ut
2 diximus, Antoninum appellari a militibus iussit. dein corpus Antonini Romam remisit, sepulchris maiorum
3 inferendum. mandavit collegae dudum suo praefecto praetorio, ut munus suum curaret ac praecipue Antoninum honorabiliter sepeliret ducto funere regio, quod sciebat ob vestimenta populo congiaria data multum
4 Antoninum a plebe dilectum. adcedebat etiam illud, quod militarem motum timebat, ne eo interveniente suum impediretur imperium, quod raptum ierat, sed quasi invitus acceperat ; ut sunt homines, qui ad ea

[1] *factione* P, Petschenig ; *fictione* Peter. [2] *uel ne incestum* P.

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[1] Given to a gladiator when honourably discharged.
[2] See *Carac.*, vi. 6—vii. 2.
[3] See *Carac.*, x. 1 and note. [4] See *Carac.*, ix. 12.
[5] Oclatinius Adventus. Macrinus made him a member of the senate, appointed him prefect of the city for a short time, and finally had him elected consul with himself for 218 ; see Dio, lxxviii. 14. 2-4. The statement of § 5 that Adventus would not have been unwilling to take the imperial power is also made by Dio ; Herodian, on the other hand, records (iv. 14, 1) that the soldiers offered it to him but he refused it.

combat, received the honorary staff,[1] and then went to Africa; that he was first of all a huntsman in the arena, then a notary, and after that a pleader for the privy-purse—an office from which he was advanced to the very highest honours. Then, when prefect of the guard, after his colleague was banished, he slew his emperor, Antoninus Caracalla,[2] employing such treachery that it did not appear that the Emperor had been slain by him. For by bribing the imperial equerry and holding out great hopes, he caused the report to spread that the Emperor was killed by a conspiracy of the soldiers, because he had incurred their displeasure through his fratricide or his incest.[3]

V. Then he seized the imperial power at once and advanced his son Diadumenianus to a share in it, immediately ordering the soldiers, as we have said before, to give him the name Antoninus. Next, he sent back Antoninus' body to Rome to be laid in the tomb of his forefathers.[4] He charged the prefect of the guard,[5] formerly his colleague, to perform the duties of his office, and particularly to bury Antoninus with all honour, providing a funeral train worthy of a monarch; for he knew that Antoninus had been greatly beloved by the people because of the garments which he had presented as gifts to the plebs.[6] There was also the further reason, that he dreaded a soldiers' uprising, fearing that if this occurred he might be barred from the power, which he had purposed to seize but had accepted with a show of reluctance. Such, indeed, is the way of men, for they say that they are forced to accept what they get for themselves, even through crime. Macrinus

[6] See *Carac.*, ix. 7-8.

5 se cogi dicunt quae vel sceleribus comparant. timuit autem etiam collegam, ne et ipse imperare cuperet, sperantibus cunctis, quod, si unius numeri concessus accederet, neque ille recusaret, et omnes cupidissime id facerent odio Macrini vel propter vitam improbam vel propter ignobilitatem, cum omnes superiores 6 nobiles fuissent imperatores. infulsit praeterea in nomen Severi se, cum illius nulla cognatione tangere- 7 tur. unde iocus exstitit, "Sic Macrinus est Severus quomodo Diadumenus Antoninus." statim tamen ad delendum militum motum stipendium et legionariis et praetorianis dedit solito uberius, utpote qui extenu- 8 are cuperet imperatoris occisi crimen. profuitque pecunia, ut solet, cui innocentia prodesse non poterat. retentus est enim aliquanto tempore in imperio homo vitiorum omnium.

9 Ad senatum dein litteras misit de morte Antonini, divum illum appellans excusansque se et iurans quod de caede illius nescierit. ita sceleri suo more hominum perditorum iunxit periurium, a quo incipere decuit hominem improbum.[1]

VI. Cum ad senatum scriberet interest[2] scire cuiusmodi oratio fuerit qua se excusavit, ut et impudentia hominis noscatur et sacrilegium, a quo initium sumpsit

[1] *a quo . . . improbum* del. by Peter. [2] So Cas. and Jordan; *cum ad senatum scriberet. Interest* Peter.

[1] See c. ii. 1 and note.

[2] See Dio, lxxviii. 19. 2. The language of Dio is obscure, but he seems to say that when the name Antoninus was bestowed on Diadumenianus, Macrinus gave each soldier a *second* donative of 3000 sesterces, indicating that he had presented the same sum to them on his accession. Entirely different figures are given in the fictitious speech in *Diad.*, ii. 1.

moreover, feared also his colleague, lest he too might desire to rule; for all hoped that he would, and, had he received the support of a single company of soldiers, he himself would not have been unwilling. All, indeed, would most gladly have had him because of their hatred for Macrinus on account of his evil life or his humble origin, for all former emperors had been noble in birth. Furthermore, he emblazoned himself with the name of Severus,[1] although not connected with him by any tie of kin. Hence arose the jest, "Macrinus is as much a Severus as Diadumenianus is an Antoninus". Nevertheless, in order to prevent an uprising among the soldiers, he at once presented a donative[2] to both the legionaries and the praetorians, rewarding them more liberally than was customary, and as a man would who sought to mitigate the crime of having slain the emperor. Thus did money, as often happens, avail a man whom innocence could not have availed. For Macrinus kept himself in power for some time, though addicted to every kind of evil.[3]

He then sent the senate a letter relating the death of Antoninus, in which he gave him the title of the Deified, at the same time clearing himself of guilt and swearing that he knew nothing of the murder. Thus to his crime (as is the manner of evil men) he added perjury—an act with which it well became a scoundrel to begin.

VI. It is of interest to know what manner of oration that was in which he cleared himself when writing to the senate, for thus his shamelessness may be understood, and the sacrilege with which this evil

[3] There seems to be no ground for this statement.

2 improbus imperator. capita ex oratione Macrini et Diadumeni imperatorum: "Vellemus, patres conscripti, et incolumi Antonino nostro et revecti cum triumpho vestram Clementiam videre. tunc demum enim florente re publica et omnes felices essemus, et sub eo principe viveremus quem nobis Antoninorum 3 loco di dederant. verum quia id evenire per tumultum militarem non potuit, nuntiamus primum quid de 4 nobis exercitus fecerit, dein honores divinos, quod primum faciendum est, decernimus ei viro in cuius verba iuravimus, cum exercitus ultorem caedis Bassiani neminem digniorem praefecto eius putavit, cui et ipse utique vindicandam factionem mandasset, si vivus 5 deprendere potuisset." et infra: "Detulerunt ad me imperium, cuius ego, patres conscripti, interim tutelam recepi, tenebo regimen, si et vobis placuerit quod militibus placuit, quibus iam et stipendium et omnia 6 imperatorio more iussi." item infra: "Diadumenum filium meum vobis notum et imperio miles donavit et nomine, Antoninum videlicet appellans, ut cohones- 7 tetur[1] prius nomine, sic etiam regni honore. quod vos, patres conscripti, bono faustoque omine adprobetis petimus, ne vobis desit Antoninorum nomen, quod

[1] *cohonestetur* Jordon, Petschenig; *quo honestetur* P; *cohonestaretur* Peter.

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[1] This speech is, of course, wholly fictitious; see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xix f. An altogether different version, probably equally fictitious, is given in Herodian, v. 1.

emperor began his reign. Passages from the speech of the Emperors Macrinus and Diadumenianus[1]: "We could have wished, O Conscript Fathers, to behold Your Clemency, with our beloved Antoninus safe and riding back in triumph. For then indeed would the state be happy and all of us be joyous, were we under the rule of an emperor whom the gods had given us in the place of the Antonines. But inasmuch as an uprising of the soldiers has prevented this from coming to pass, we would inform you, in the first place, of what the army has done concerning ourselves, and, in the second, we decree for him to whom we swore our allegiance the honours of a god, as is indeed our first duty. For the army has deemed no one a more worthy avenger of the murder of Bassianus than his own prefect, whom he himself would certainly have charged with the punishing of the conspiracy, could it have been in his power to detect it while yet alive." And farther on: "They have offered me the imperial power, O Conscript Fathers, and for the time being I have accepted its guardianship, but I will retain its governance only if you also desire what has been the desire of the soldiers, to whom I have already ordered a donative to be given as well as all other things, according to the custom of emperors". Likewise, farther on: "To my son Diadumenianus, who is known to you, the soldiers have given both the imperial power and the name—for they have called him Antoninus—that he might be honoured, first with this name, but also with the office of monarch. And this act we beseech you, O Conscript Fathers, to approve with all good and prospering auspices, in order that you may still have with you the name of the Antonines, which

8 maxime diligitis." item infra: "Antonino autem divinos honores et miles decrevit, et nos decernimus et vos, patres conscripti, ut decernatis, cum possimus imperatorio iure praecipere, tamen rogamus, dicantes ei[1] duas statuas equestres, pedestres[2] duas habitu militari, sedentes civili habitu duas, item Divo Severo 9 duas triumphales. quae omnia, patres conscripti, vos impleri iubebitis nobis religiose pro prioribus ambientibus."

VII. Lectis igitur in senatu litteris contra opinionem omnium et mortem Antonini senatus gratanter accepit et Opilium Macrinum libertatem publicam curaturum sperans primum in patricios allegit, novum hominem 2 et qui paulo ante procurator privatae fuisset. eundem, cum scriba pontificius esset, quos hodie pontifices minores vocant, pontificem maximum appellavit Pii 3 nomine decreto. diu tamen lectis litteris, cum omnino 4 nemo crederet de Antonini morte, silentium fuit. sed posteaquam constitit occisum, senatus in eum velut in tyrannum invectus est. denique statim Macrino et proconsulare imperium et potestatem tribuniciam detulerunt.

[1] *ei* Golisch, Peter[2]; *et* P, Peter[1]. [2] *pedes* P.

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[1] *i.e.* Caracalla; see *Carac.*, xi. 5 and note.

[2] See note to c. ii. 4.

[3] See c. ii. 1 and note.

[4] See note to *Com.*, xx. 1.

[5] This statement is taken directly from Livy, xxii. 57, 3. The *pontifices minores* were originally servants of the pontifices. In the course of time they formed a corporation of their own and gradually acquired more and more prestige, until, in the imperial period, their office was one of the most respected of the priesthoods open to the equestrian order; see G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, p. 447.

you so greatly love." Likewise, farther on: "For Antoninus,[1] moreover, both the soldiers have decreed divine honours and we decree them, and we request you—though by our power as emperor we might command you—to decree them also, and we ourselves shall dedicate to him statues, two on horseback, two on foot clad in the garb of a soldier, and two seated clad in civil garb, and likewise to the Deified Severus two, clad in the robes of a triumphant general. These measures, O Conscript Fathers, you will order to be carried out in accordance with our dutiful solicitation in behalf of our predecessors."

VII. So, when this letter had been read to the senate, contrary to the general expectation the senate not only received with pleasure the news of Antoninus' death [2] but expressed the hope that Opellius Macrinus would be guardian of the public liberty, first of all enrolling him among the patricians, though he was a man without ancestry [3] and had been only a short time before the steward of the emperor's private property.[4] This man, though he had been merely one of the pontifical clerks (whom they now call the Minor Pontifices [5]), the senate made Pontifex Maximus,[6] decreeing him also the surname Pius.[7] Nevertheless, for a long time after the letter was read there was silence, for no one at all believed the news of Antoninus' death. But when it was certain that he was slain, the senate reviled him as a tyrant, and forthwith offered Macrinus both the proconsular command and the tribunician power.[8]

[6] This office was held by every emperor.

[7] He frequently bears this name in inscriptions. In c. xi. 2, he is said to have refused it.

[8] See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

5 Filium sane suum, cum ipse Felicis nomen recepisset, ut suspicionem occisi a se Antonini removeret, Anto-
6 ninum vocavit, Diadumenum antea dictum. quod quidem nomen etiam Varius Heliogabalus, qui se Bassiani filium diceret, homo sordidissimus et ex
7 meretrice conceptus, idem postea accepit. denique versus exstant cuiusdam poetae, quibus ostenditur Antonini nomen coepisse a Pio et paulatim per Antoninos usque ad sordes ultimas pervenisse, si quidem solus Marcus nomen illud sanctum vitae genere auxisse videatur, Verus autem degenerasse, Commodus vero
8 etiam polluisse sacrati nominis reverentiam. iam quid de Caracallo Antonino, quidve de hoc potest dici? postremo etiam quid de Heliogabalo, qui Antoninorum ultimus in summa impuritate vixisse memoratur?

VIII. Appellatus igitur imperator, imperio suscepto[1] contra Parthos profectus est magno apparatu, studens sordes generis et prioris vitae infamiam victoriae magni-
2 tudine abolere. sed conflictu habito contra Parthos defectu legionum, quae ad Varium Heliogabalum confugerant, interemptus est. sed anno amplius imperavit.
3 Sane cum esset inferior in eo bello quod Antoninus gesserat, Artabane graviter necem suorum civium vindicante, primo Macrinus repugnavit; postea vero missis legatis petiit pacem, quam libenti animo inter-
4 fecto Antonino Parthus concessit. inde cum se

[1] <*imperio*> *suscepto* Editor; *susceptos* P; †*susceptos* Peter.

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[1] So also c. xi. 2. He frequently bears this name in inscriptions.

[2] Both it and Pius are among the cognomina regularly borne by Elagabalus.

[3] See *Heliog.*, ii. 1-2.

Now to his son, previously called Diadumenianus, he gave the name Antoninus (after he had himself assumed the appellation Felix[1]) in order to avert the suspicion of having slain Antoninus. This same name was aftewards taken by Varius Elagabalus also,[2] who claimed to be the son of Bassianus, a most filthy creature and the son of a harlot.[3] Indeed, there are still in existence some verses written by a certain poet, which relate how the name of the Antonines, which began with Pius, gradually sank from one Antonine to another to the lowest degradation; for Marcus alone by his manner of life exalted that holy name, while Verus lowered, and Commodus even profaned the reverence due to the consecrated name. And what can we say of Caracalla Antoninus, and what of this youth Diadumenianus? And finally, what of Elagabalus, the last of the Antonines, who is said to have lived in the lowest depths of foulness?

VIII. And so, having been acclaimed emperor, Macrinus assumed the imperial power and set out against the Parthians with a great array,[4] eager to blot out the lowliness of his family and the infamy of his early life by a magnificent victory. But after fighting a battle with the Parthians he was killed in a revolt of the legions, which had deserted to Varius Elagabalus.[5] He reigned, however, for more than a year.

Though defeated in the war which Antoninus had waged—for Artabanus exacted a cruel revenge for the death of his subjects—Macrinus, nevertheless, at first fought stoutly. But later he sent out envoys and sued for peace, which, now that Antoninus was

[4] See c. ii. 2 and viii. 3 and note. [5] See c. ix.

Antiochiam recepisset ac luxuriae operam darət,iusta m causam interficiendi sui praebuit exercitui ac Bassiani, ut putabatur, filium sequendi, id est Heliogabalum Bassianum Varium, qui postea est et Bassianus et Antoninus appellatus.

IX. Fuit aliqua mulier Maesa sive Varia ex Emesena urbe, soror Iuliae uxoris Severi Pertinacis Afri, quae post mortem Antonini Bassiani ex aulica domo fuerat expulsa per Macrini superbiam; cui quidem omnia
2 concessit Macrinus, quae diu illa collegerat. huic erant duae filiae, Symiamira et Mamaea, quarum maiori filius erat Heliogabalus, qui[1] et Bassiani et Antonini nomen accepit, nam Heliogabalum Phoenices
3 vocant solem. sed Heliogabalus pulchritudine ac statura et sacerdotio conspicuus erat ac notus omnibus hominibus qui ad templum veniebant, militibus prae-
4 cipue. his Maesa sive Varia dixit Bassianum filium esse Antonini, quod paulatim omnibus militibus

[1] *qui* Edit. princ.; om. in P.

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[1] This war, begun in the summer of 217, is also mentioned in c. ii. 2. According to Dio, lxxviii. 26,2—27,2, Macrinus was defeated at Nisibis in Mesopotamia by the Parthian king Artabanus, and in 218 surrendered all prisoners and gave presents to Artabanus amounting to 200 million sesterces. The account of the battle and the ensuing negotiations, as given by Herodian (iv. 15), is as non-committal as that of the biography. According to Dio, lxxviii. 27, 3, the senate, on the receipt of Macrinus' account of the battle, voted a *supplicatio* and conferred on him the cognomen Parthicus—which he refused to accept. Coins were also issued with the legend *Victoria Parthica;* see Cohen, iv.[2] pp. 303-304, nos. 133-141.

slain, the Parthian granted readily.[1] Thereupon he proceeded to Antioch and gave himself over to luxury and thus furnished the army just grounds for putting him to death and taking up the cause of the supposed son of Bassianus, Elagabalus Bassianus Varius, afterwards called both Bassianus and Antoninus.[2]

IX. Now there was a certain woman of the city of Emesa,[3] called Maesa[4] or Varia; she was the sister of Julia, the wife of Severus Pertinax the African,[5] and after the death of Antoninus Bassianus she had been expelled from her home in the palace through the arrogance of Macrinus—though Macrinus did grant to her all her possessions which she had gathered together during a long period. This woman had two daughters, Symiamira[6] and Mamaea,[7] the elder of whom was the mother of Elagabalus; he assumed the names Bassianus and Antoninus, for the Phoenicians give the name Elagabalus to the Sun.[8] Elagabalus, moreover, was notable for his beauty and stature and for the priesthood which he held, and he was well known to all who frequented the temple, and particularly to the soldiers. To these, Maesa, or Varia as she was also called, declared that this Bassianus was the son of Antoninus, and this was

[2] On his names see note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

[3] In central Syria, on the Orontes. It is now called Homs.

[4] Julia Maesa, the daughter of Bassianus, the high-priest of the Sun-god worshipped at Emesa. There is no evidence that she ever bore the name Varia. Her husband was Julius Avitus.

[5] *i.e.*, Septimius Severus.

[6] For her name see note to *Heliog.*, ii. 1.

[7] Julia Mamaea, the mother of Severus Alexander; see note to *Heliog.*, v. 1.

[8] See note to *Heliog.*, i. 5.

innotuit. erat praeterea Maesa ipsa ditissima, ex quo etiam Heliogabalus luxuriosissimus. qua promittente militibus legiones abductae sunt a Macrino. suscepta enim illa noctu in oppidum cum suis, nepos eius Antoninus appellatus est imperii delatis insignibus.

X. Haec ubi sunt Macrino apud Antiochiam posito nuntiata, miratus audaciam muliebrem, simul etiam contemnens, Iulianum praefectum ad obsidendos eos cum legionibus misit. quibus cum Antoninus ostenderetur, miro amore in eum omnibus inclinatis occiso Iuliano praefecto ad eum omnes transierunt. dein parte exercitus coniuncta, venit contra Macrinum Antoninus contra se festinantem, commissoque proelio Macrinus est victus proditione militum eius et amore Antonini. fugiens sane Macrinus cum paucis et filio in vico quodam Bithyniae occisus est cum Diadumeno, ablatumque eius caput est et ad Antoninum perlatum. Sciendum praeterea quod Caesar fuisse dicitur non

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[1] The Third Legion, Gallica, which was encamped near Emesa; see Herodian, v. 3, 9. The following account of the revolution against Macrinus led by Maesa agrees with the detailed and reasonable narrative of Herodian and the fragments of Dio (lxxviii. 31-38). It is the only portion of this biography that has any historical value. On Maesa's claim that her grandson was a natural son of Caracalla see note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

[2] *i.e.*, the camp of the Third Legion.

[3] Ulpius Julianus, the prefect of the guard.

[4] At a village 180 stadia from Antioch, on the 8th June, 218, according to Dio, lxxviii. 37, 3; 39, 1. Both Dio and Herodian relate that Macrinus fled from the field before the battle was finished.

[5] Macrinus was captured at Chalcedon on the Bosphorus and put to death on the journey back to Antioch. He had sent Diadumenianus to the Parthian king, but the boy was captured on the way and killed; see Dio, lxxviii. 40, 1.

gradually made known to all the soldiers.[1] Maesa herself, furthermore, was very rich (whence also Elagabalus was most wasteful of money), and through her promises to the soldiers the legions were persuaded to desert Macrinus. For after she and her household had been received into the town [2] by night, her grandson was hailed as Antoninus and presented with the imperial insignia.

X. When the news of this was brought to Macrinus, then encamped near Antioch, marvelling at the audacity of the women and at the same time regarding them with contempt, he sent Julianus the prefect [3] with the legions to lay siege to them. But when Antoninus was shown to these troops, all turned to him in wonderful affection, and, killing Julianus the prefect, they all went over to him. Then, having a part of the army on his side, Antoninus marched against Macrinus, who was hastening to meet him. A battle was then fought,[4] in which, as a result of the soldiers' treachery to him and their love for Antoninus, Macrinus was defeated. He did, indeed, escape from the battle together with his son and a few others, but he and Diadumenianus were afterwards slain in a certain village of Bithynia,[5] and his head was cut off and carried to Antoninus.

It should be recorded, furthermore, that the boy Diadumenianus is said to have been made merely Caesar and not Augustus,[6] for many have related

[6] This statement is technically correct, for the title of Augustus was never conferred on him officially. On coins of Antioch, however, he has the titles of Αὐτοκράτωρ (*Imperator*) and Σεβαστός (*Augustus*); see Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, vii. p. 242. He was created Imperator by his father after the defeat of Julianus; see Dio, lxxviii. 34, 2.

Augustus Diadumenus puer, quem plerique pari fuisse
5 cum patre imperio tradiderunt. occisus est etiam
filius, cui hoc solum attulit imperium, ut interficeretur
6 a milite. non enim aliquid dignum in eius vita erit
quod dicatur, praeter hoc quod Antoninorum nomini
est velut nothus adpositus.

XI. Fuit tamen in vita imperatoria paulo rigidior et
austerior, sperans se ante acta omnia posse oblivioni
dare, cum ipsa severitas illius occasionem reprehen-
2 dendi et lacerandi eius aperiret. nam et Severum se
et Pertinacem voluerat nuncupari, quae duo illi
asperitatis nomina videbantur. et cum illum senatus
Pium ac Felicem nuncupasset, Felicis nomen recepit,
3 Pii habere noluit. unde in eum epigramma non
inlautum Graeci cuiusdam poetae videtur exstare,
quod Latine hac sententia continetur:

4 Histrio iam senior turpis gravis asper iniquus
impius et felix sic simul esse cupit,
ut nolit pius esse, velit tamen esse beatus,
quod natura negat, nec recipit[1] ratio.
nam pius et felix poterat dicique viderique,
impius[2] infelix est, erit[3] ille sibi.

5 hos versus nescio qui de Latinis[4] iuxta eos qui Graeci

[1] *neget . . . recepit* P. [2] *impius* Baehrens; *imperium* P, Peter. [3] *est et erit* P. [4] *de Latinis* Peter[2]; *delatis* P; *Latinos* Peter[1].

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[1] He never bore the name Pertinax.
[2] See c. vii. 2 and 5 and notes.

that he had equal power with his father. The son also was slain, having gotten from his power only this—that he should be killed by the soldiery. For in his life there will be found nothing worthy of being related, save that he was annexed, as a sort of bastard, to the name of the Antonines.

XI. Macrinus, in his life as emperor, was, in spite of all, rather rigid and stern, thinking that so he could bury in oblivion all his previous career, though in fact this very sternness of his presented an opportunity for criticising and attacking him. For he wished to bear the names Severus and Pertinax,[1] both of which seemed to him to connote harshness, and when the senate conferred on him the names Pius and Felix, he accepted the name of Felix but refused that of Pius.[2] This refusal, it seems, was the cause of an epigram against him, written by a certain Greek poet and not without charm, which has been rendered into Latin in the following vein:

"Play-actor agèd and sordid, oppressive, cruel, and wicked,
Blest and unrighteous at once—that was the thing he would be.
Righteous he wished not to be, but yet would gladly be happy;
But this which nature denies, reason will not allow.
Righteous and blessèd together he might have appeared and been surnamed,
Unrighteous, unblessèd too, now and forever is he."

These verses some Latin writer or other displayed in the Forum together with those which had been

erant propositi in foro posuit. quibus acceptis Macrinus his versibus respondisse fertur,

6 Si talem Graium tetulissent fata poetam,
qualis Latinus gabalus iste fuit,
nil populus nosset, nil nosset curia, mango
nullus scripsisset carmina taetra mihi.

7 his versibus Macrinus longe peioribus, quam illi Latini sunt, respondisse se credidit, sed non minus risui est habitus quam poeta ille qui de Graeco Latine conatus[1] est scribere.

XII. Fuit igitur superbus et sanguinarius et volens militariter imperare, incusans quin etiam superiorum temporum disciplinam ac solum Severum prae ceteris 2 laudans. nam et in crucem milites tulit et servilibus suppliciis semper adfecit et, cum seditiones militares pateretur, milites saepius decimavit, aliquando etiam centesimavit, quod verbum proprium ipsius est, cum se clementem diceret, quando eos centesimaret qui digni 3 essent decimatione atque vicensimatione. longum est eius crudelitates omnes aperire, attamen unam ostendam non magnam, ut ipse credebat, sed omnibus tyran- 4 nicis inmanitatibus tristiorem. cum quidam milites ancillam hospitis iam diu pravi pudoris adfectassent, idque[2] per quendam frumentarium ille didicisset,

[1] *conatus* Peter; *coactus* P.
[2] so Salm. and Peter; *pudore suffectassent atque* P corr.

[1] See note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

published in Greek. On hearing them, Macrinus, it is said, replied in the following lines :

" Had but the Fates made the Grecian as wretched
a poet as this one,
Latin composer of verse, gallows-bird aping a bard,
Naught had the populace learned and naught learned
the senate ; no huckster
Ever had tried to compose scurrilous verses on
me."

In these lines, which are much worse even than the other Latin verses, Macrinus believed that he had made adequate reply, but he became no less of a laughing-stock than the poet who tried to translate from the Greek into Latin.

XII. Macrinus, then, was arrogant and bloodthirsty and desirous of ruling in military fashion. He found fault even with the discipline of former times and lauded Severus alone above all others. For he even crucified soldiers and always used the punishments meted out to slaves, and when he had to deal with a mutiny among the troops, he usually decimated the soldiers—but sometimes he only *centimated* them. This last was an expression of his own, for he used to say that he was merciful in putting to death only one in a hundred, whereas they deserved to have one in ten or one in twenty put to death. It would be too long to relate all his acts of brutality, but nevertheless I will describe one, no great one in his belief, yet one which was more distressing than all his tyrannical cruelties. There were some soldiers who had had intercourse with their host's maid-servant, who for some time had led a life of ill-repute. Learning of their offence through one of his spies,[1] he

5 adduci eos iussit interrogavitque utrum esset factum. quod cum constitisset, duos boves mirae magnitudinis vivos subito aperiri iussit atque his singulos milites inseri capitibus, ut secum conloqui possent, exsertis; itaque poena hos adfecit, cum ne adulteris quidem talia apud maiores vel sui temporis essent constituta
6 supplicia. pugnavit tamen et contra Parthos et contra Armenios et contra Arabas, quos Eudaemones vocant, non minus fortiter quam feliciter.
7 Tribunum, qui excubias deseri passus est, carpento rotali subteradnexum per totum iter vivum atque
8 exanimum traxit. reddidit etiam Mezentii supplicium, quo ille vivos mortuis inligabat et ad mortem
9 cogebat longa tabe confectos. unde etiam in Circo, cum favor publicus in Diadumenum se proseruisset, adclamatum:

"Egregius forma iuvenis,"
"cui pater haud Mezentius esset."

10 vivos etiam homines parietibus inclusit et struxit. adulterii reos semper vivos simul incendit iunctis corporibus. servos qui dominis fugissent reppertos
11 ad gladium ludi deputavit. delatores, si non proba-

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[1] See c. viii. 3.

[2] Tiridates, the claimant to the Armenian throne, went through the usual form of homage and received the diadem from Macrinus; see Dio, lxxviii. 27, 4.

[3] Nothing is known of any campaign in Arabia Felix.

[4] The mythical king of Caere in Etruria, who fought with Turnus against Aeneas. For the punishment here described see Vergil, *Aeneid*, viii. 485-488.

[5] The first half-line is from *Aeneid*, xii. 275, where the phrase is used of an Arcadian killed by Tolumnius; the second describes Lausus, son of Mezentius, and is taken from *Aeneid*, vii. 654.

commanded them to be brought before him and questioned them as to whether it were really true. When their guilt was proved, he gave orders that two oxen of extraordinary size should be cut open rapidly while still alive, and that the soldiers should be thrust one into each, with their heads protruding so that they could talk to each other. In this way he inflicted punishment on them, though neither our ancestors nor the men of his own time ever ordained any such penalty, even for those guilty of adultery. Yet in spite of all this, he warred against the Parthians,[1] the Armenians,[2] and the Arabs who are called the Blest,[3] and with no less bravery than success.

A tribune who allowed a sentry-post to be left unguarded he caused to be bound under a wheeled waggon and then dragged living or dead all through the entire march. He even reproduced the punishment inflicted by Mezentius,[4] who used to bind live men to dead and thus force them to die consumed by slow decay. Hence it came about that even in the Circus, when general applause broke forth in honour of Diadumenianus, some one cried out :

"Peerless in beauty the youth,"
"Not deserving to have as his father Mezentius."[5]

He also put living men into walls, which he then built up. Those guilty of adultery he always burned alive, fastening their bodies together. A slave who had fled from his master and had been found he would sentence to a combat with the sword in the public games. A public informer, if he could not make good his accusation, he would condemn to death ; if he could make it good, he would present

rent, capite adfecit, si probarent, delato pecuniae praemio infames dimisit.

XIII. Fuit in iure non incallidus, adeo ut statuisset omnia rescripta veterum principum tollere, ut iure non rescriptis ageretur, nefas esse dicens leges videri Commodi et Caracalli et hominum imperitorum voluntates, cum Traianus numquam libellis responderit, ne ad alias causas facta praeferrentur quae ad gratiam composita viderentur.

2 In annonis tribuendis largissimus fuit, in auro parcis-
3 simus, in verberandis [1] vero [2] aulicis tam impius, tam pertinax, tam asper, ut servi illum sui non Macrinum dicerent, sed Macellinum, quod macelli specie domus
4 eius cruentaretur sanguine vernularum. vini cibique avidissimus, nonnumquam usque ad ebrietatem, sed vespertinis horis. nam si prandisset vel privatim
5 parcissimus, in cena effusissimus. adhibuit convivio litteratos, ut loquens de studiis liberalibus necessario abstemius.

XIV. Sed cum eius vilitatem homines antiquam cogitarent, crudelitatem morum viderent, hominem putidulum in imperio ferre non possent; et maxime milites, qui multa eius meminerant funestissima et aliquando turpissima, inita factione illum occiderunt

[1] *uerberandis* Madvig, Peter [2]; *uerandis* P. [2] *uero* Peter [2]; *uel* P, Peter [1].

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[1] "Butcher," a comic formation from *macellum*, a meat-market.

him with his reward in money and send him away in disgrace.

XIII. In the administration of the law he was not without wisdom, and he even determined to rescind all decisions of earlier emperors, in order that judgments might be rendered on the basis of the law and not of a decision; for he used to say that it would be a crime to give the force of law to the whims of Commodus and Caracalla and other untrained men, when Trajan had always refused to render decisions in response to petitions, in order that rulings which might seem to have been made out of favour might not be applied to other cases.

In bestowing largesses of grain he was most generous, while in gifts of money he was niggardly. But in flogging his palace-attendants he was so unjust, so unreasonable, and so cruel, that his slaves used to call him Macellinus[1] instead of Macrinus, because his palace was so stained with the blood of his household-servants that it looked like a shambles. In his use of food and wine he was most gluttonous, sometimes even to the point of drunkenness, but only in the evening hours. For if he had breakfasted even in private with great simplicity, he would be most extravagant in his dinner. He used to invite literary men to his banquets, as though he would perforce be more sparing in his diet if conversing about liberal studies.

XIV. But when men thought of his old-fashioned niggardliness and saw the savagery of his ways, they could not bear that so malodorous a man should have the imperial power, and most of all the soldiers, who remembered many deeds of his that were most cruel and sometimes even most base. So, forming a plot,

cum puero suo Diadumeno, scilicet Antonino cognomine. de quo dictum est quod in somniis Antoninus fuisset. unde etiam versus exstant huiusmodi :

Vidimus in somnis cives, nisi fallor, et istud :
Antoninorum nomen puer ille gerebat,
qui patre venali genitus sed matre pudica,
centum nam moechos passa est centumque rogavit.
ipse etiam calvus moechus fuit, inde maritus ;
en Pius, en Marcus, Verus nam non fuit ille.

et isti versus ex Graeco [1] translati sunt in Latinum. nam Graece sunt disertissimi, videntur autem mihi ab aliquo poeta vulgari translati esse. quod cum Macrinus audisset, fecit iambos qui non exstant. iucundissimi autem fuisse dicuntur. qui quidem perierunt in eo tumultu in quo ipse occisus est, quando et omnia eius a militibus pervasa sunt.

XV. Genus mortis, ut diximus, tale fuit : cum in Antoninum Heliogabalum exercitus inclinasset, ille fugit belloque victus est et occisus in suburbano Bithyniae, suis partim deditis partim occisis partim fugatis. ita Heliogabalus clarus creditus est, quod videretur patris vindicasse mortem ; atque inde in

[1] so P (see S. H. Ballou, *Cl. Philol.* iii., p. 273 f.) ; om. in P acc. to Peter ; *ex* <*Graeco*> Peter [1] ; *sex* Peter [2].

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[1] This is incorrect ; see c. x. 3 and note.
[2] Cf. *Diad.*, v. 1.
[3] Apparently a pun on the meaning of *verus* = "true".
[4] c. x. 3. [5] But see c. x. 3 and notes.
[6] *i.e.*, Caracalla's ; see c. ix. 4.

they murdered him and his son,[1] the boy Diadumenianus, surnamed Antoninus, of whom it was said that he was Antoninus only in his dreams—a saying which gave rise to the following verses :

"This we beheld in our dreams, fellow-citizens, if I mistake not :
How that the Antonine name was borne by that immature stripling,
Sprung from a father corrupt, though virtuous truly his mother ;
Lovers a hundred she knew and a hundred were those whom she courted.[2]
Lover was also the bald-head, who later was known as her husband ;
Pius indeed, aye Marcus indeed, for ne'er was he Verus." [3]

These lines have been translated from Greek into Latin. In the Greek they are very well written, but they seem to me to have been translated by some commonplace poet. When they were read to Macrinus he composed iambics, which have not been preserved but are said to have been most delightful. They were, for that matter, destroyed in that same uprising in which he himself was slain, when all his possessions were overrun by the soldiers.

XV. The manner of his death, as we have previously related,[4] was the following : After the army went over to Elagabalus Antoninus, Macrinus fled, but he was defeated and killed in a rural district of Bithynia,[5] while his followers were partly forced to surrender, partly killed, and partly put to flight. So Elagabalus achieved glory because he was thought to have avenged his father's death,[6] and so established

imperium venit, quod dedecoravit vitiis ingentibus, luxurie, turpitudine, abligurritione, superbia, inmanitate. qui et ipse similem exitum vitae suae sortitus est.

3 Haec de Macrino nobis sunt cognita, multis aliqua
4 variantibus, ut se habet hominis historia. quae de plurimis collecta Serenitati tuae, Diocletiane Auguste, detulimus, quia te cupidum veterum imperatorum esse perspeximus.

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[1] See *Heliog.*, xvii. 1-3.

himself on the throne, which he disgraced by his enormous vices, his extravagance, his baseness, his feasting, his arrogance, and his savagery. He, too, was fated to meet with an end corresponding to his life.[1]

These are the facts we have learned concerning Macrinus, though many give different versions of certain details, according to the character of each man's history; these we have gathered together from many sources and have presented to Your Serenity, Diocletian Augustus, because we have seen that you are desirous of learning about the emperors of former times.

DIADUMENUS ANTONINUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

I. Antonini Diadumeni pueri, quem cum patre Opilio Macrino imperatorem dixit exercitus occiso Bassiano factione Macriniana, nihil habet vita memorabile, nisi quod Antoninus est dictus et quod ei stupenda omina sunt facta imperii non diutini, ut
2 evenit. nam cum primum innotuit per legiones occisum esse Bassianum, ingens maeror obsedit omnium pectora, quod Antoninum in re publica non haberent, existimantium quod cum eo Romanum esset imperium
3 periturum. id ubi Macrino iam imperatori nuntiatum est, veritus ne in aliquem Antoninorum, qui multi ex adfinibus Antonini Pii erant inter duces, exercitus inclinaret, statim contionem parari iussit filiumque
4 suum hunc puerum Antoninum appellavit. contio: "Videtis, conmilitones, et me aetatis iam provectae et Diadumenum puerum, quem diu principem, si di

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[1] For the correct form of the name see note to *Macr.*, ii. 5.

[2] He was not acclaimed *Imperator* until after the revolution had broken out under Maesa and Elagabalus; see note to *Macr.*, x. 4.

[3] This statement is hardly correct.

[4] This speech is wholly fictitious; see Intro. to Vol. i., p. xix f.

ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. The life of the boy Antoninus Diadumenianus[1] who, together with his father, Opellius Macrinus, was proclaimed emperor by the army[2] when Bassianus had been slain through the treachery of Macrinus, contains nothing memorable, save that he received the name of Antoninus and that there befell him astonishing omens signifying that his reign would be but a short one—and so it really came to pass. Now as soon as it became known among the legions that Bassianus was slain, great sorrow beset the hearts of all, for they thought, because they had not an Antoninus at the head of the state, that with Bassianus the Roman Empire would come to an end. When word of this was brought to Macrinus, who by this time was emperor, he became afraid that the army would turn to some one of the Antonines, many of whom, being of the kin of Antoninus Pius, were among the leaders.[3] He therefore gave orders at once to compose an harangue, and then bestowed upon his son, this lad, the name Antoninus. His harangue[4]: "You behold me, Comrades, now advanced in years, and Diadumenianus still a lad, whom, if the

faveant, habebitis. intellego praeterea desiderium ingens Antoniniani nominis apud vos manere. quare, quoniam mihi per conditionem fragilitatis humanae non multum superesse videtur ad vitam, hunc puerum Antoninum vobis auctoribus nuncupo diu vobis Antoninum repraesentaturum." adclamatum : " Macrine imperator, di te servent. Antonine Diadumene, di te servent. Antoninum dudum [1] omnes rogamus. Iuppiter optime maxime, Macrino et Antonino vitam. tu scis, Iuppiter, Macrinus vinci non potest. tu scis, Iuppiter, Antoninus vinci non potest. Antoninum habemus, omnia habemus. Antoninum nobis di dederunt. patre dignus [2] Antoninus, dignus imperio."

II. Macrinus imperator dixit : " Habete igitur, conmilitones, pro imperio aureos ternos, pro Antonini nomine aureos quinos et solitas promotiones sed geminatas. di facient ut haec saepius fiant. dabimus autem per cuncta quinquennia hoc quod hodie putavimus." post hoc ipse puerulus Diadumenus Antoninus imperator dixit : " Gratias vobis, conmilitones, quod me et imperio donastis et nomine, si quidem dignos et me et patrem meum duxistis [3] quos imperatores Romanos diceretis et quibus committeretis rem publicam. et

[1] *dudum* Peter ; *diuum* P. [2] *dignus* om. in P ; *patre Antoninus* <*dignus*> Mommsen, Jordan ; *imperatorem. Antoninus* Peter. [3] *duxistis* Jordan, Peter ; *dixistis* P.

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[1] See note to *Macr.*, v. 7.

gods are gracious, you will have for many years as your prince. Furthermore, I perceive that there still remains among you a great yearning for the name of the Antonines. And so, since the nature of human weakness seems to leave me but a short space of life, with your sanction I bestow upon this lad the name Antoninus, and he for long years to come shall be in your eyes an Antoninus indeed." Outcries of the soldiers: "Macrinus, our Emperor, may the gods keep you! Antoninus Diadumenianus, may the gods keep you! An Antoninus have we all for a long time desired. Jupiter, Greatest and Best, grant long life to Macrinus and to Antoninus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, that no man can conquer Macrinus. Thou knowest, O Jupiter, that no man can conquer Antoninus. An Antoninus we have, and in him we have all things; an Antoninus, indeed, have the gods granted to us. Worthy of his sire is Antoninus, aye worthy of the Empire too." II. Macrinus the Emperor spoke: "Accept, therefore, Comrades, in return for the bestowal of the imperial power, three aurei for each one of you, and for the bestowal of the name Antoninus five aurei for each,[1] together with the advancements prescribed by custom, but at this time doubled. The gods will grant that such gifts shall be often bestowed upon you, but we shall give you every five years what we have deemed right to give today." Thereupon the child himself, Diadumenianus Antoninus, the Emperor, spoke: "I bring you thanks, Comrades, because you have bestowed upon me both imperial office and name; and inasmuch as you have deemed us worthy, both my father and myself, to acclaim us Emperors of Rome and to commit the state to our keeping, my father, for his part, will

pater quidem meus curabit ne desit imperio, ego autem elaborabo ne desim nomini Antoninorum. scio enim me Pii, me Marci, me Veri suscepisse nomen, 4 quibus satis facere perdifficile est. interim tamen causa imperii, causa nominis, id omne quod pater et tantundem promitto, honoribus, ut et venerandus 5 Macrinus pater praesens promisit, duplicatis." Herodianus Graecus scriptor haec praeteriens Diadumenum tantum Caesarem dicit puerum a militibus nuncupatum et cum patre occisum.

6 Hac habita contione statim apud Antiochiam moneta Antonini Diadumeni nomine percussa est' 7 Macrini usque ad iussum senatus dilata est. missae etiam ad senatum litterae quibus nomen Antonini indicatum est. quare etiam senatus imperium id libenter dicitur recepisse, quamvis alii Antonini Cara- 8 calli odio id factum putent. paraverat sane paenulas populo coloris russei dare Macrinus imperator in honorem Antonini filii sui, quae vocarentur Antoninianae, ut caracallae Bassiani dictae sunt, adserens melius filium suum Paenuleum vel Paenularium dicendum quam Caracallus esset dictus Bassianus. 9 congiarium etiam per edictum Antoninianum promisit, ut ipsum edictum poterit indicare.

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[1] Herodian, v. 4, 12. Diadumenianus was born in 208; consequently he was nine years old when he is supposed to have delivered the foregoing speech.

[2] See *Macr.*, vi. 2-7.

[3] Cf. *Macr.*, ii. 3-4 and note; vii. 4.

[4] See *Carac.*, ix. 7-8.

[5] From *paenula*, a long cloak worn on journeys and in rainy weather.

take good care not to fail the Empire, and I, moreover, will strive earnestly not to fail the name of the Antonines. For I know that it is the name of Pius and of Marcus and of Verus that I have taken, and to live according to the standard of these is difficult indeed. Meanwhile, however, in return for the imperial office and in return for my name, I promise you all that my father has promised and as much as he has promised, doubling all advancements, even as my revered father Macrinus has promised here in your presence." Herodian, the Greek writer, omits these details and records only that Diadumenianus as a child received from the soldiers the title of Caesar and that he was slain along with his father.[1]

Immediately after this harangue a coin was struck at Antioch bearing the name of Antoninus Diadumenianus, but coinage with the name of Macrinus was postponed until the senate should give command. Moreover, despatches announcing the bestowal of the name Antoninus were sent to the senate.[2] In return, it is said, the senate readily acknowledged his rule—although some think they did so only out of hatred for Antoninus Caracalla.[3] Now Macrinus, as emperor, purposed in honour of his son Antoninus to present to the populace mantles of a reddish hue, to be called 'Antoninian' as Bassianus' Gallic mantles had been.[4] For it was more fitting, he said, that his son should be called Paenuleus or Paenularius,[5] than that Bassianus should have been called Caracalla. He also issued an edict, promising a largess[6] in the name of Antoninus, as the edict itself will prove.

[6] Apparently commemorated by an issue of coins with the legend *Liberalitas Augusti*; see Cohen, iv². p. 294, nos. 41-44.

verba edicti: "Vellem, Quirites, iam praesentes essemus; Antoninus vester vobis congiarium sui nominis daret. incideret praeterea et pueros Antoninianos et puellas Antoninianas, quae tam grati nominis gloriam propagarent"; et reliqua.

III. His ita gestis signa in Castris et vexilla fieri Antoniniana iussit fecitque Bassiani simulacra ex auro atque argento atque dies septem supplicatio pro Antonini nomine celebrata est.

2 Puer fuit omnium speciosissimus, statura longiuscula, crine flavo, nigris oculis, naso deducto, ad omnem decorem mento composito, ore ad[1] oscula parato, fortis 3 naturaliter, exercitio delicatior. hic ubi primum indumenta coccea et purpurea ceteraque castrensia imperii insignia accepit, quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit, ut amaretur ab omnibus gratia venustatis. haec[2] de puero sunt dicenda.

4 Nunc veniamus ad omina imperii, quae cum in IV. aliis tum in hoc praecipue sunt stupenda. die qua natus est pater eius purpuras, tunc forte procurator aerarii maioris, inspexit et quas claras probavit in id conclave redigi praecepit in quo post duas horas Dia- 2 dumenus natus est. solent deinde pueri pilleo insigniri naturali, quod obstetrices rapiunt et advocatis

[1] *ad* om. in P. [2] so P; *haec* <*fere*> Peter[1]; *haec* <*sunt*> *quae de imperio* Peter[2].

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[1] See *Pius*, viii. 1 and note.

[2] Yet according to Dio, lxxviii. 19, 2, Macrinus had the statues of Caracalla at Rome removed.

[3] There was no such office as this. Perhaps it is an error for *procurator thesaurorum*, for the *thesauri* seem to have included the imperial robes; see note to *Alex.*, xl. 3.

The text of the edict: "I would, Fellow-citizens, that we were now present in person; for then your Antoninus himself would give you a largess in his own name. He would, furthermore, enroll boys as Antoniniani and girls as Antoninianae,[1] that they might extend the glory of so dear a name"; and so forth throughout.

III. When he had done all in this fashion he gave orders that the standards in the Camp and the colours should be called Antonine and he had statues of Bassianus made of gold and of silver[2]; and ceremonies of thanksgiving were celebrated for seven days in honour of the naming of Antoninus.

The boy himself was beautiful beyond all others, somewhat tall of stature, with golden hair, black eyes, and an aquiline nose; his chin was wholly lovely in its modelling, his mouth designed for a kiss, and he was by nature strong and by training graceful. And when first he assumed the scarlet and purple garments and the other imperial insignia used in the camp, he was radiant as a being from the stars or a dweller in heaven, and he was beloved of all because of his beauty. This much there is to be said concerning the boy.

Now let us proceed to the omens predicting his imperial power—which are marvellous enough in the case of others, but in his case beyond the usual wont. IV. On the day of his birth, his father, who then chanced to be steward of the greater treasury,[3] was inspecting the purple robes, and those which he approved as being brighter in hue he ordered to be carried into a certain chamber, in which two hours later Diadumenianus was born. Furthermore, whereas it usually happens that children at birth are

credulis vendunt, si quidem causidici hoc iuvari
3 dicuntur. at iste puer pilleum non habuit sed diade-
ma tenue, sed ita forte ut rumpi non potuerit, fibris
4 intercedentibus[1] specie nervi sagittarii. ferunt denique
Diadematum puerum appellatum, sed ubi adolevit,
avi sui nomine materni Diadumenum vocatum, quam-
vis non multum abhorruerit ab illo signo Diademati
5 nomen Diadumeni. in agro patris eius oves purpureas
duodecim ferunt natas, quarum una tantum varia
6 fuerit. eadem die qua hic natus est aquilam ei con-
stat sensim palumbum regium parvulum attulisse et
posuisse in cunis dormienti ac recessisse sine noxa.
V. pantagathi in domo patris eius nidum posuerunt. his
diebus quibus ille natus est mathematici accepta
genitura eius exclamaverunt et ipsum filium impera-
toris esse et imperatorem, quasi[2] mater eius adulterata
2 esset, quod fama retinebat. huic eidem aquila pilleum
in agro ambulanti tulit et, cum comitum infantis
clamor esset factus, in monumento regio, quod iuxta
villam esset in qua tunc pater agebat, supra statuam
3 regis posuit, ita ut capiti eius aptaret. quod multi
ominosum putarunt et morti adcommodum, clarum
4 autem eventus ostendit. natus est praeterea natali
Antonini et ea hora et signis prope concinentibus

[1] so Cas., Peter; *uiris intersedentibus* P. [2] *quasi* om. in P.

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[1] This belief has been perpetuated. The caul was supposed to impart the gift of eloquence and to be a protection against drowning; see also B. Jonson, *Alchemist*, i. 1.

[2] *i.e.*, "of good omen"; they are otherwise unknown.

[3] Cf. *Macr.*, xiv. 2.

[4] A similar omen is described in Livy, i. 34, 8.

[5] Apparently Antoninus Pius, born on 19th Sept. (*Pius*,

provided by nature with a caul, which the midwives seize and sell to credulous lawyers (for it is said that this brings luck to those who plead[1]), this child, instead of a caul, had a narrow band like a diadem, so strong that it could not be broken, for the fibres were entwined in the manner of a bow-string. The child, they say, was accordingly called Diadematus, but when he grew older, he was called Diadumenianus from the name of his mother's father, though the name differed little from his former appellation Diadematus. Also they say that twelve purple sheep were born on his father's estate and of these only one had spots upon it. And it is well known, besides, that on the very day of his birth an eagle brought to him gently a tiny royal ring-dove, and, after placing it in his cradle as he slept, flew away without doing him harm. Moreover, birds called pantagathi[2] built a nest in his father's house. V. And about the time of his birth, the astrologers, on reading his horoscope, cried out that he was both the son of an emperor and an emperor too, just as though his mother had been seduced —as, indeed, public gossip maintained.[3] Moreover, when he was walking about in the open country, an eagle bore away his cap;[4] and when the child's comrades shouted out, the bird set it upon the statue of a king on a royal monument near the farm-house in which his father then lived, fitting it close to the head. This seemed portentous to many and a sign of an early death, but later events showed it to be a prediction of glory. He was born, furthermore, on the birthday of Antoninus,[5] at the same

1. 8). According to Dio, lxxviii. 20, 1, Diadumenianus was born on 14th Sept.

quibus et Antoninus Pius. quare dixerunt mathematici et imperatoris illum filium futurum et imperatorem, sed non diu. die qua natus est, quod Antonini esset natalis, mulier quaedam propinqua dicitur exclamasse 'Antoninus vocetur,' sed Macrinus timuisse et,[1] quod nullus ex eius genere hoc nomine censeretur, abstinuisse nomine imperatorio, simul quod iam rumor de vi geniturae illius emanasset. haec atque alia omina fuisse multi in litteras rettulerunt, sed illud praecipue quod, cum in cunis esset Diadumenus, et leo ruptis vinculis, ut quidam, ferus effugisset atque ad incunabula eius venisset, puerum delinxit et inviolatum reliquit, cum nutrix se in leonem misisset atque eius morsu adfecta perisset, ut quae[2] sola forte in areola inventa erat in qua infans iacebat.

VI. Haec sunt quae digna memoratu in Antonino Diadumeno esse videantur. cuius vitam iunxissem patris gestis, nisi Antoninorum nomen me ad edendam puerilis specialem expositionem vitae coegisset. et fuit quidem tam amabile illis temporibus nomen Antoninorum, ut qui eo nomine non niteretur mereri non videretur imperium. unde etiam quidam et Severum et Pertinacem et Iulianum Antoninorum praenominibus honorandos putant, unde postea duos Gordianos, patrem et filium, Antoninos cognominatos

[1] *et* om. in P; ins. by Paucker, Petschenig, Peter[2]. [2] *ut quae* Unger, Peter[2]; *atque* P.

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[1] See note to *Macr.*, iii. 6.

hour as Antoninus Pius and with the stars in almost the same positions. Wherefore the astrologers said that he would be both the son of an emperor and an emperor himself, but not for long. On the day of his birth, which was also the birthday of Antoninus, a certain woman, who lived near by, cried out, it is said, "Let him be called Antoninus". Macrinus, however, was afraid and refused the imperial name, both because none of his kin was called by this name and at the same time because rumours concerning the significance of his horoscope had already spread abroad. These omens and others, too, occurred, or so numerous writers have related, but the following one is especially worthy of note. As Diadumenianus was lying in his cradle, some say, a lion broke its chains and dashed about savagely, but when it came to the cradle of the child it only licked him and left him unharmed; but when the nurse—the only person who chanced to be present in the open place in which the child was lying—threw herself at the lion, it seized her in its teeth and she perished.

VI. These are the details concerning Antoninus Diadumenianus which seem to be worthy of mention. His life, indeed, I should have combined with the achievements of his father, had not the name of the Antonines constrained me to publish a special discussion of the life of this boy. And in fact the name of the Antonines was at that time so greatly beloved, that he who had not the prestige of this name did not seem to merit the imperial power. Wherefore some also think that Severus and Pertinax and Julianus should be honoured with the praenomen Antoninus,[1] and that later on the two Gordiani,

4 putant. sed aliud est cum praenomen adscitur, aliud
5 cum ipsum nomen imponitur. nam Pius verum nomen Antonini habuit, cognomen Pii, Marcus verum nomen Verissimi habuit, sed hoc sublato atque abolito
6 Antonini non praenomen sed nomen accepit. Verus autem Commodi nomen habuit, quo abolito Antonini
7 non praenomen sed nomen accepit. Commodum autem Marcus Antoninum appellavit atque ita in
8 publicas edidit die natalis sui. iam Caracallum Bassianum satis constat vel somnii causa, quod Severus viderat, cum sibi Antoninum successorem praedictum sensisset, anno[1] demum tertio decimo Antoninum dixisse, quando ei etiam imperatoriam addidisse
9 dicitur potestatem. Getam vero, quem multi Antoninum negant dictum, eadem ratione qua Bassianum appellatum satis constat, ut patri Severo succederet,
10 quod minime factum est. post hoc ipse Diadumenus ut commendaretur exercitui, senatui populoque Romano, cum[2] esset ingens desiderium Bassiani Caracalli, Antoninum appellatum satis constat.

VII. Exstat epistula Opilii Macrini, patris Diadumeni, qua gloriatur non tam se ad imperium pervenisse, qui esset secundus imperii, quam quod Antoniniani nominis esset pater factus, quo clarius[3] illis temporibus

[1] *Antonino* P. [2] *cum* om. in P. [3] *clarius* Jordan, Peter[1]; *clarior* P; *clarior* <*honor*> Peter[2].

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[1] See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and note.
[2] See *Marc.*, i. 10, and *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1 and note.
[3] See note to *Hadr.*, xxiv. 1.
[4] See *Sev.*, x. 4; *Get.*, i. 3.
[5] See *Sev.*, x. 5, and *Get.*, i. 1 and notes.
[6] *i.e.* the prefecture of the guard.

father and son, had Antoninus as surname.[1] However, it is one thing to assume this as praenomen and another to take it as an actual name. In the case of Pius, for instance, Antoninus was his actual name and Pius only a surname. Moreover, the true name of Marcus was Verissimus,[2] but when this was set aside and annulled, Antoninus was conferred on him not as a praenomen but as his name. So the original name of Verus was Commodus,[3] but when this was annulled, he too was called Antoninus not as a praenomen but as a name. Commodus, however, was given the name Antoninus by Marcus, and on the day of his birth he was so enrolled in the public records. As for Caracalla Bassianus, it is well known that he was called Antoninus on account of a dream beheld by Severus, which revealed that an Antoninus was fore-ordained to be his successor,[4] and that he was given the name in his thirteenth year, when, it is said, Severus conferred on him also the imperial power. Geta, moreover, who, many aver, was not called Antoninus at all, was given the name, it is generally said, with the same intention as Bassianus —namely that he might succeed his father Severus[5]; but this never came to pass. After him, the name Antoninus was given to this very Diadumenianus, in order, it is generally said, that he might thereby find favour with the army, the senate, and the people of Rome, since there was a great yearning for Bassianus Caracalla.

VII. There is still in existence a letter written by Opellius Macrinus, father of Diadumenianus, in which he boasts, not so much that he attained to the imperial power, having previously held second place in the Empire,[6] as that he had become the father of

2 non fuerat vel deorum. quam epistulam priusquam intexam, libet versus inserere in Commodum dictos, qui se Herculem appellaverat, ut intellegant omnes tam clarum fuisse Antoninorum nomen, ut illi ne 3 deorum nomen commode videretur adiungi. versus in Commodum Antoninum dicti :

Commodus Herculeum nomen habere cupit,
Antoninorum non putat esse bonum,
expers humani iuris et imperii,
sperans quin etiam clarius esse deum,
quam si sit princeps nominis egregii.
non erit iste deus nec tamen ullus homo.

4 hi versus a Graeco nescio quo compositi a malo poeta in Latinum translati sunt, quos ego idcirco inserendos putavi, ut scirent omnes Antoninos pluris [1] fuisse quam deos ab [2] trium principum amore, quo sapientia, bonitas, pietas consecrata sit, in Antonino pietas, in 5 Vero bonitas, in Marco sapientia. redeo nunc ad epistulam Macrini Opilii :

"Opilius Macrinus Noniae Celsae coniugi. quid boni adepti sumus, mi uxor, caret aestimatione. et fortassis de imperio me putes dicere; non magnum

[1] *plures* P. [2] *ab* Peter[2]; *ac* P, Peter[1].

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[1] See *Com.*, viii. 5; ix. 2; *Carac.*, v. 5.
[2] This and the following letters are fictitious.

one bearing the name Antoninus, than which no name was then more illustrious—no, not even that of the gods. But before I insert this letter, I wish to include some verses directed at Commodus, who had taken the name of Hercules,[1] in order that I may show to all that the name of the Antonines was so illustrious that it was not deemed suitable to add to it even the name of a god. The verses directed against Commodus Antoninus are as follows:

Commodus wished to possess Hercules' name as his own;
That of the great Antonines did not seem noble enough.
Nothing of common law, nothing of ruling he knew,
Hoping indeed as a god greater renown to acquire
Than by remaining a prince called by an excellent name.
Neither a god will he be, nor for that matter a man.

These verses, written by an unknown Greek, some unskilful poet has rendered into Latin, and I have thought it right to insert them here for the purpose of showing to all that the Antonines were deemed greater than the gods as a result of the love felt for the three emperors, a love which has enshrined their wisdom, kindness, and righteousness—righteousness in the case of Pius, kindness in the case of Verus, and wisdom in the case of Marcus. I will now return to the letter written by Opellius Macrinus:[2]

"Opellius Macrinus to his wife Nonia Celsa. The good fortune to which we have attained, my dear wife, is incalculable. Perhaps you may think I allude to the imperial power, but this is nothing

est istud quod etiam indignis fortuna concessit.
6 Antonini pater factus sum; Antonini mater es facta.
o nos beatos, o fortunatam domum, praeclaram laudem
7 nunc demum felicis imperii. di faxint et bona Iuno,
quam colis, ut et ille Antonini meritum effingat, et
ego, qui sum pater Antonini, dignus omnibus videar."
VIII. hac epistula indicatur, quantum gloriae adeptus sibi
videretur quod vocatus est filius Antoninus.
2 Hic tamen quarto decimo mense imperii ob in-
civilem patris atque asperum principatum interfectus
3 est cum patre, non suo nomine; quamvis etiam istum
ultra aetatem saevisse in plerosque reperiam, ut
docent litterae ab hoc eodem ad patrem missae.
4 nam cum quidam defectionis suspicionem incurrissent,
et eos Macrinus saevissime punisset filio forte absente,
atque hic audisset auctores quidem defectionis occisos,
conscios[1] tamen, quorum dux Armeniae erat et item
legatus Asiae atque Arabiae, ob antiquam familiaritatem
dimissos, his litteris convenisse patrem dicitur, paribus
missis etiam ad matrem, quarum exemplum historiae
causa inserendum putavi:
5 "Patri Augusto filius Augustus. non satis, mi
pater, videris in amore nostro tenuisse tuos mores,
qui tyrannidis adfectatae conscios reservasti,

[1] *conscios* ins. by Paucker, Peter[2]; om. in P, Peter.[1]

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[1] See *Macr.*, x. 3 and note.

[2] This office did not exist at the time in which this letter is alleged to have been written. The *duces* were the generals in command of the armies stationed on the various frontiers; they were instituted at the end of the third century, when the civil authority in the provinces was separated from the military.

[3] See *Macr.*, x. 4 and note.

great and Fortune has bestowed it on even the undeserving. No! I have become the father of an Antoninus; you have become the mother of an Antoninus. Blessed indeed are we, fortunate is our house, and noble the meed of praise now at length attained by this happy empire! May the gods grant, and kindly Juno too, whom you revere, both that he may achieve the deserts of an Antoninus, and that I, who am now the father of an Antoninus, may be deemed worthy in the sight of all." VIII. This letter indicates how much glory he thought he had gained from the fact that his son was called Antoninus.

Yet in spite of all, Diadumenianus was killed with his father in the fourteenth month of their reign,[1] not, indeed, for any fault of his own, but because of his father's harsh and tyrannical rule. Nevertheless, I find in many writers that he himself was cruel beyond his years, and this is shown by a letter which he sent to his father. For when certain men had fallen under the suspicion of rebellion, Macrinus visited upon them the most cruel punishments in the absence, as it chanced, of his son; but when the latter learned that the instigators of the rebellion had indeed been put to death, but their accomplices, among whom were the military governor of Armenia[2] and the governors of Asia and Arabia, had, on account of a long-standing friendship, been sent away unharmed, he addressed, it is said, the following letter to his father, sending an identical one to his mother also. A copy of this letter I think, for the sake of history, should be inserted:

"Augustus the son[3] to Augustus the father. You do not seem, my dear father, to have kept close enough to your usual ways or to your affection for

sperans eos vel amiciores tibi futuros, si iis parceres, vel ob antiquam familiaritatem[1] dimittendos.
6 quod nec debuit fieri nec proderit.[2] nam primum omnium iam te exulcerati suspicionibus amare non possunt. deinde crudeliores inimici sunt, qui obliti veteris familiaritatis se inimicissimis tuis iunxerunt. adde quod exercitus adhuc habent.

7 'Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debetur.'

8 feriendi sunt isti, si vis esse securus. nam vitio generis humani alii non sunt defuturi, cum isti ser-
9 vantur." hanc epistulam quidam ipsius, quidam magistri eius Caeliani ferunt, Afri quondam rhetoris, ex qua apparet, quam asper futurus iuvenis si vixisset.

IX. Exstat alia epistula ad matrem ab eodem destinata talis: "Dominus noster et Augustus nec te amat nec ipsum se, qui inimicos suos servat. age igitur, ut Arabianus et Tuscus et Gellius ad palum deligentur,[3] ne, si occasio fuerit, non praetermittant."
2 et, quantum Lollius Urbicus in historia sui temporis

[1] *familiam tamen* P. [2] *proderit* Unger, Peter[2]; *poterit* P. [3] *diligenter* P.

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[1] *Aeneid*, iv. 272-276.
[2] Otherwise unknown.
[3] Presumably the officials alluded to in c. viii. 4; the names are evidently fictitious.
[4] Otherwise unknown, but see Intro. to Vol. ii. p. xxi.

me; for you have spared the lives of men engaged in a plot to seize the imperial power, either in the hope that if you spare them now they will prove more kindly disposed to you in the future, or else believing that because of an ancient friendship they ought to be sent away unharmed. This should not have been done, nor will it prove of any avail. For, in the first place, they cannot love you now, rendered sore, as they are, by suspicion; in the second, those who have forgotten their ancient friendship and have joined your bitterest enemies will prove to be all the more cruel foes. Consider also the fact that they still have armies.

'Even should you yourself regard not the fame of such actions,
Think of the youthful Ascanius, the hopes of Iulus your scion;
Fated for him is Italy's realm and the land of the Romans.'[1]

These men must be executed, if you wish to live in safety, for, thanks to the evil ways of mankind, there will be no lack of other foes, if the lives of these be spared." This letter, attributed by some to Diadumenianus himself, by others to his teacher Caelianus,[2] formerly a rhetorician in Africa, shows how cruel the young man would have been, had he lived.

IX. There is still in existence another letter, which he wrote to his mother, reading as follows:

"Our Lord and Emperor loves neither you nor himself, for he spares the life of his foes. See to it, then, that Arabianus, Tuscus, and Gellius[3] be bound to the stake, lest if an opportunity arise, they may not let it slip." And, as Lollius Urbicus[4] records

dicit, istae litterae per notarium proditae illi puero
2 multum apud milites obfuisse dicuntur. nam, cum patrem occidissent, quidam hunc servare voluerunt, sed exstitit cubicularius, qui has epistulas contioni militum legit.
4 Interfectis igitur ambobus et capitibus pilo circumlatis, in Marcum Aurelium Antoninum caritate nomi-
5 nis inclinavit exercitus. is filius Bassiani Caracalli ferebatur. erat autem templi Heliogabali sacerdos, homo omnium impurissimus et qui fato quodam
6 Romanum deformarit imperium. de quo quidem, quia multa sunt, loco suo disseram.

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[1] See *Macr.*, ix.-x.

in his history of his own time, these letters, when made public by his secretary, are said to have done the boy much harm among the soldiers. For after his father was slain many wished to spare him, but his chamberlain came forward and read these letters before an assembly of the troops.

And so, when both had been slain and their heads borne about on pikes, the army out of affection for his name went over to Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.[1] He was said to be the son of Bassianus Caracalla, but he was, in point of fact, a priest of the temple of Elagabalus and the filthiest of men, who through some decree of Fate was to bring disgrace upon the Roman Empire. But the details concerning him, for they are many, I will relate in their own proper place.

ANTONINUS HELIOGABALUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

I. Vitam Heliogabali Antonini, qui Varius etiam dictus est, numquam in litteras misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas et Nerones et Vitellios hoc idem habuisset im-
2 perium. sed cum eadem terra et venena ferat et furmentum atque alia salutaria, eadem serpentes et cicures, compensationem sibi lector diligens faciet, cum legerit Augustum, Traianum, Vespasianum, Hadrianum, Pium, Titum, Marcum contra hos prodigiosos tyrannos. simul intelleget Romanorum iudicia, quod illi et diu imperarunt et exitu naturali functi sunt, hi vero interfecti, tracti, tyranni etiam appellati, quorum nec nomina libet dicere.

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[1] His original name was Varius Avitus. He was the son of Julia Soaemias (or Symiamira, see note to c. ii. 1) and Sex. Varius Marcellus (see *C.I.L.*, x. 6569 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 478). In order to strengthen his claim to the throne his grandmother Maesa declared that he was the natural son of Caracalla (see *Carac.*, ix. 2; *Macr.*, ix. 4), and he became emperor under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus, by which he was officially known; in his inscriptions he is regularly styled son of Antoninus (Caracalla) and grandson of Severus. As the hereditary priest of Elagabalus, the patron-deity of Emesa (see note to § 5), he was called by the name of his god, but this name was never official, and there is no evidence that it

ANTONINUS ELAGABALUS

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. The life of Elagabalus Antoninus, also called Varius,[1] I should never have put in writing—hoping that it might not be known that he was emperor of the Romans—,were it not that before him this same imperial office had had a Caligula, a Nero, and a Vitellius. But, just as the selfsame earth bears not only poisons but also grain and other helpful things, not only serpents but flocks as well, so the thoughtful reader may find himself some consolation for these monstrous tyrants by reading of Augustus, Trajan, Vespasian, Hadrian, Pius, Titus, and Marcus. At the same time he will learn of the Romans' discernment, in that these last ruled long and died by natural deaths, whereas the former were murdered, dragged through the streets, officially called tyrants, and no man wishes to mention even their names.

was applied to him during his lifetime; see O. F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus* (New York, 1910), p. 119. This name the Latin writers (*Hist. Aug.*, Victor, Eutropius) always reproduce in the erroneous form Heliogabalus. He is sometimes called Bassianus (e.g. *Macr.*, viii. 4; ix. 4; Herodian, v. 3, 6), but there is no real evidence that he ever bore this name.

4 Igitur occiso Macrino eiusque filio Diadumeno, qui pari potestate imperii Antonini etiam nomen acceperat, in Varium Heliogabalum imperium conlatum
5 est, idcirco quod Bassiani filius diceretur. fuit autem Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos atque Antonini sibi nomen adsciverat vel in argumentum generis vel quod id nomen usque adeo carum esse cognoverat gentibus, ut etiam parricida Bassianus causa nominis
6 amaretur. et hic quidem prius dictus est Varius, post Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romae in eo loco constituit in quo prius
7 aedes Orci fuit, quem e Syria secum advexit. postremo cum accepit imperium, Antoninus appellatus est atque ipse in Romano imperio ultimus[1] Antoninorum fuit.

II. Hic tantum Symiamirae matri deditus fuit, ut sine illius voluntate nihil in re publica faceret, cum ipsa meretricio more vivens in aula omnia turpia exerceret, Antonino autem Caracallo stupro cognita, ita ut hinc vel Varius vel Heliogabalus vulgo conceptus puta-

[1] *altissimus* P.

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[1] See *Macr.*, ix-x.

[2] The patron-god of Emesa, where he was worshipped in the form of a conical black stone, or *βαίτυλος*, supposed to have fallen from Heaven; see Herodian, v. 3, 5. He was popularly regarded as a sun-god, and in Rome after his importation by the new Emperor (see c. iii. 4) he was officially called *Deus Sol Elagabalus* or *Invictus Sol Elagabalus*. This identification was responsible for the erroneous form Heliogabalus, applied both to the god and to the emperor.

[3] See note on c. iii. 4.

[4] The correct form of her name is Julia Soaemias Bassiana; see *C.I.L.*, viii. 2564; x. 6569. On her coins she is regularly called Julia Soaemias Augusta; see Cohen, iv.[2] pp. 387-389.

Now when Macrinus had been slain and also his son Diadumenianus,[1] who had been given an equal share of the power and also the name Antoninus, the imperial office was bestowed upon Varius Elagabalus, solely because he was reputed to be the son of Bassianus. As a matter of fact, he was the priest of Elagabalus (sometimes called Jupiter, or the Sun [2]), and had merely assumed the name Antoninus in order to prove his descent or else because he had learned that this name was so dear to mankind that for its sake even the parricide Bassianus had been greatly beloved. Originally, he had the name Varius, but later he was called Elagabalus because he was priest of this god—whom he afterwards brought with him from Syria to Rome, founding a temple for him on the site of an earlier shrine of Orcus.[3] Finally, when he received the imperial power, he took the name Antoninus and was the last of the Antonines to rule the Roman Empire.

II. He was wholly under the control of his mother Symiamira,[4] so much so, in fact, that he did no public business without her consent,[5] although she lived like a harlot and practised all manner of lewdness in the palace. For that matter, her amour with Antoninus Caracalla was so notorious that Varius, or rather Elagabalus, was commonly supposed to be his son.

The masculine form Σόαιμος (or Suhaim) is a well-established Syrian name. The peculiar forms Symiamira, by which she is known in this biography and in the *Macrinus* (ix. 2), and Symiasera, as she is called by Eutropius (viii. 22), have not been satisfactorily explained. They may be derivations from the name of the Syrian goddess Simea; see O. F. Butler, p. 120, and Ronzevalle, *Rev. Arch.*, ii. (1903), p. 48.

[5] This is over-stated. The controlling influence was that of Maesa; see O. F. Butler, p. 40.

2 retur. et aiunt quidam Varii etiam nomen idcirco eodem inditum a condiscipulis quod vario semine, 3 de meretrice utpote, conceptus videretur. hic fertur occiso Macrini factione patre, ut dicebatur, Antonino in templum dei Heliogabali confugisse, velut in asylum, ne interficeretur a Macrino, qui saevissime cum filio 4 luxurioso et crudeli exercuit imperium. sed de nomine hactenus, quamvis sanctum illud Antoninorum nomen polluerit, quod tu, Constantine sacratissime, ita veneraris, ut Marcum et Pium inter Constantios Claudiosque, velut maiores tuos, aureos formaveris, adoptans virtutes veterum tuis moribus congruentes et tibi amicas caras.

III. Sed ut ad Antoninum Varium revertamur, nanctus imperium Romam nuntios misit, excitatisque omnibus ordinibus, omni etiam populo ad nomen Antoninum, quod non solum titulo, ut in Diadumeno fuerat, sed etiam in sanguine redditum videbatur, cum se Antonini Bassiani filium scripsisset, ingens eius 2 desiderium factum est. erat praeterea etiam rumor, qui novis post tyrannos solet donari[1] principibus,

[1] *damnari* P.

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[1] See note to c. i. 1. The manner of life imputed to Soaemias in this passage is certainly much exaggerated and quite in keeping with the general tone of this biography. An amour between her and Gannys, her son's tutor, is alluded to by Dio (lxxix. 6, 2).

[2] See *Macr.*, xi.-xii. There is no evidence, however, that Macrinus showed any cruelty to the relatives of Caracalla. Dio (lxxviii. 23, 2) emphasizes his considerate treatment of Julia Domna. The statement (repeated also by Victor, *Caes.*, xxiii. 1) that Elagabalus fled to the temple at Emesa is a wholly incorrect inference from his permanent residence there as hereditary high-priest.

The name Varius, some say, was given him by his school-fellows because he seemed to be sprung from the seed of "various" men, as would be the case with the son of a harlot.[1] And then, when his reputed father Antoninus was slain by Macrinus' treachery, he sought refuge in the temple of Elagabalus the god, as in a sanctuary, for fear that Macrinus would kill him; for Macrinus and his wasteful and brutal son were wielding the imperial power with the greatest cruelty.[2] But enough concerning his name—though he defiled this venerated name of the Antonines, which you, Most Sacred Constantine, so revere that you have had portrayed in gold both Marcus and Pius together with the Constantii and the Claudii, as though they too were your ancestors, just as you have adopted the virtues of the ancients which are naturally suited to your own character, and pleasing and dear to you as well.

III. But let us return to Varius Antoninus. After obtaining the imperial power he despatched couriers to Rome,[3] and there all classes were filled with enthusiasm, and a great desire for him was aroused in the whole people merely at the mention of the name Antoninus, now restored, as it seemed, not in an empty title (as it had been in the case of Diadumenianus [4]), but actually in one of the blood—for he had signed himself son of Antoninus Bassianus.[5] He had the prestige, furthermore, which usually comes to a new ruler who has succeeded a tyrant; this is permanent only when the highest virtues

[3] From Antioch; see Dio, lxxix. 1.

[4] See *Diad.*, i. 3-8.

[5] He also assumed all the imperial titles; see Dio, lxxix. 2, 2.

qui nisi ex summis virtutibus non permanet, et quem multi mediocres principes amiserunt.

3 Denique ubi in senatu lectae sunt litterae Heliogabali, statim fausta[1] in Antoninum et dira in Macrinum eiusque filium dicta sunt, appellatusque Antoninus princeps volentibus cunctis et studiose credentibus, ut sese habent vota hominum ad credulitatem festinantium, cum quod optant verum esse desiderant.

4 Sed ubi primum ingressus est urbem, omissis quae in provincia gerebantur, Heliogabalum in Palatino monte iuxta aedes imperatorias consecravit eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens, ne 5 quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. dicebat praeterea Iudaeorum et Samaritanorum religiones et Christianam devotionem illuc transferendam, ut

[1] *infausta* P.

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[1] According to Dio, lxxix. 2, and Herodian, v. 5, 2, the senate acclaimed him emperor only out of fear of the soldiers.

[2] In July, 219; see O. F. Butler, p. 75. He spent the winter of 218-219 at Nicomedia in Bithynia; see c. v. 1.

[3] He brought the sacred stone of Elagabalus to Rome with him and built two temples for the god, one on the Palatine—the so-called Eliogabalium (Mommsen, *Chron. Min.*, i. 147)—and the other in the suburb known as Ad Spem Veterem east of the city, near the modern Porta Maggiore; see O. Richter, *Top. d. Stadt Rom*[2], p. 315. On the other hand, nothing is known of the Aedes Orci mentioned in c. i. 6.

[4] His plan was to unite all cults and to make Elagabalus the chief deity of Rome; see Dio, lxxix. 11, 1; Herodian, v. 5, 7. He particularly desired to form a union between his god and Vesta as the representative of the Roman state, and to this end he transferred to the Eliogabalium the fire of

are present and has been lost by many a mediocre emperor.

In short, when Elagabalus' message was read in the senate, at once good wishes were uttered for Antoninus and curses on Macrinus and his son,[1] and, in accordance with the general wish and the eager belief of all in his paternity, Antoninus was hailed as emperor. Such are the pious hopes of men, who are quick to believe when they wish the thing to come true which their hearts desire.

As soon as he entered the city,[2] however, neglecting all the affairs of the provinces, he established Elagabalus as a god on the Palatine Hill close to the imperial palace[3]; and he built him a temple, to which he desired to transfer the emblem of the Great Mother, the fire of Vesta, the Palladium, the shields of the Salii, and all that the Romans held sacred, purposing that no god might be worshipped at Rome save only Elagabalus.[4] He declared, furthermore, that the religions of the Jews and the Samaritans and the rites of the Christians must also be transferred

Vesta and the sacred objects kept in her temple, such as the *Ancilia* and the Palladium. The latter, an image of Pallas, supposedly of Trojan origin, he seems to have regarded as the image of Vesta, who, in fact, was not represented in image-form. He further symbolised the union between the two deities by his own marriage with a Vestal; see c. vi. 6 and note. Since his combination of these cults aroused the greatest indignation in Rome, he divorced the Vestal and chose a new consort for his god in the Carthaginian deity Caelestis (see note to *Pert.*, iv. 2), whose image was brought to Rome and placed in the Eliogabalium; see Dio, lxxix. 12, 1. Since she was frequently identified with the Magna Mater the *Matris typus* of the text probably refers to this image; see O. F. Butler, p. 91 f.

omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali sacerdotium teneret.

IV. Deinde ubi primum diem senatus habuit, ma-
2 trem suam in senatum rogari iussit. quae cum venisset, vocata ad consulum subsellia scribendo adfuit, id est senatus consulti conficiendi testis, solusque omnium imperatorum fuit, sub quo mulier quasi clarissima loco viri senatum ingressa est.
3 Fecit et in colle Quirinali senaculum, id est mulierum senatum, in quo ante fuerat conventus matronalis, sollemnibus dumtaxat diebus et si umquam aliqua matrona consularis coniugii ornamentis esset donata, quod veteres imperatores adfinibus detulerunt et iis maxime quae nobilitatos maritos non habuerant, ne
4 innobilitatae remanerent. sed Symiamira facta sunt senatus consulta ridicula de legibus matronalibus: quae quo vestitu incederet, quae cui cederet, quae ad cuius osculum veniret, quae pilento, quae equo,

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[1] This statement is almost certainly a later addition, for there would be no significance in a combination of these sects with the cult of Elagabalus; see O. F. Butler, p. 126.

[2] He himself bore the title *sacerdos amplissimus Dei Solis Elagabali*, giving this sacred office a higher place than that of Pontifex Maximus; see G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, p. 305.

[3] On his arrival in Rome in July, 219.

[4] There is no other voucher for this statement. According to c. xii. 3 it was his grandmother Maesa who came into the senate.

[5] Nero's mother Agrippina was allowed to be present at a meeting of the senate, but concealed behind a curtain; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 5.

[6] Mentioned also in *Aurel.*, xlix. 6. *Senaculum* properly denotes a place in which the senators waited while the senate was not in session; the name seems to have been applied to

to this place,[1] in order that the priesthood of Elagabalus [2] might include the mysteries of every form of worship.

IV. Then, when he held his first audience with the senate,[3] he gave orders that his mother should be asked to come into the senate-chamber. On her arrival she was invited to a place on the consuls' bench and there she took part in the drafting—that is to say, she witnessed the drawing up of the senate's decree.[4] And Elagabalus was the only one of all the emperors under whom a woman attended the senate like a man, just as though she belonged to the senatorial order.[5]

He also established a *senaculum*,[6] or women's senate, on the Quirinal Hill. Before his time, in fact, a congress of matrons had met here, but only on certain festivals, or whenever a matron was presented with the insignia of a "consular marriage"—bestowed by the early emperors on their kinswomen, particularly on those whose husbands were not nobles, in order that they might not lose their noble rank.[7] But now under the influence of Symiamira absurd decrees were enacted concerning rules to be applied to matrons, namely, what kind of clothing each might wear in public, who was to yield precedence and to whom, who was to advance to kiss another, who

this gathering of matrons merely for the purpose of giving it a quasi-political importance; see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, iii. p. 914. The *conventus matronalis* was an organization dating from the early republican period. Its rulings—here concerned with matters of court etiquette—seem to have received some sort of official recognition and hence are incorrectly called *senatus consulta*.

[7] A woman who married a man of lower status lost her rank, unless authorized to retain it by imperial decree.

quae sagmario,[1] quae asino veheretur, quae carpento mulari, quae boum, quae sella veheretur, et utrum pellicia an ossea an eborata an argentata, et quae aurum vel gemmas in calciamentis haberent.

V. Ergo cum hibernasset Nicomediae atque omnia sordide ageret inireturque a viris et subigeret, statim milites facti sui paenituit, quod in Macrinum conspiraverant ut hunc principem facerent, atque in consobrinum eiusdem Heliogabali Alexandrum, quem Caesarem senatus Macrino interempto appellaverat,
2 inclinavere animos. quis enim ferre posset principem per[2] cuncta cava corporis libidinem recipientem, cum
3 ne beluam quidem talem quisquam ferat? Romae denique nihil egit aliud nisi ut emissarios haberet, qui ei bene vasatos perquirerent eosque ad aulam
4 perducerent, ut eorum conditionibus frui posset. agebat praeterea domi fabulam Paridis ipse Veneris personam subiens, ita ut subito vestes ad pedes defluerent, nudusque una manu ad mammam altera pudendis adhibita ingenicularet, posterioribus eminentibus in
5 subactorem reiectis et oppositis. vultum praeterea eodem quo Venus pingitur schemate figurabat, corpore toto expolitus, eum fructum vitae praecipuum existimans, si dignus atque aptus libidini plurimorum videretur.

[1] *quae equo, quae sagmario* Mommsen, Peter; *quae quoque sagmario* P. [2] *qui per* P.

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[1] The son of Julia Avita Mamaea, younger daughter of Julia Maesa, and Gessius Marcianus. He was originally called Alexionos (Herodian, v. 3, 3) or Bassianus (Dio, lxxviii. 30, 3), but after he was formally adopted by Elagabalus in 221 and given the title of Caesar, he was known as M. Aurelius Alexander. On his accession to the throne he took the name M. Aurelius Severus Alexander. The biography is

might ride in a chariot, on a horse, on a pack-animal, or on an ass, who might drive in a carriage drawn by mules or in one drawn by oxen, who might be carried in a litter, and whether the litter might be made of leather, or of bone, or covered with ivory or with silver, and lastly, who might wear gold or jewels on her shoes.

V. After he had spent the winter in Nicomedia, 218-219.
living in a depraved manner and indulging in unnatural vice with men, the soldiers soon began to regret that they had conspired against Macrinus to make this man emperor, and they turned their thoughts toward his cousin Alexander,[1] who on the murder of Macrinus had been hailed by the senate as Caesar. For who could tolerate an emperor who indulged in unnatural lusts of every kind, when not even a beast of this sort would be tolerated? And even at Rome he did nothing but send out agents to search for those who had particularly large organs and bring them to the palace in order that he might enjoy their vigour. Moreover, he used to have the story of Paris played in his house, and he himself would take the rôle of Venus, and suddenly drop his clothing to the ground and fall naked on his knees, one hand on his breast, the other before his private parts, his buttocks projecting meanwhile and thrust back in front of his partner in depravity. He would likewise model the expression of his face on that with which Venus is usually painted, and he had his whole body depilated, deeming it the chief enjoyment of life to appear fit and worthy to arouse the lusts of the greatest number.

here in error in the statement that Alexander received the title of Caesar on the death of Macrinus.

VI. Vendidit et honores et dignitates et potestates tam per se quam per omnes servos ac libidinum minis-
2 tros. in senatum legit sine discrimine aetatis, census, generis pecuniae merito, militaribus etiam praeposituris et tribunatibus et legationibus et ducatibus venditis, etiam procurationibus et Palatinis officiis.
3 aurigas Protogenen et Cordium primo in certamine curuli socios, post in omni vita et actu participes
4 habuit. multos, quorum corpora placuerant, de
5 scaena et Circo et arena in aulam traduxit. Hieroclem vero sic amavit ut eidem inguina oscularetur, quod dictum etiam inverecundum est, Floralia sacra se adserens celebrare.
6 In virginem Vestalem incestum admisit. sacra
7 populi Romani sublatis penetralibus profanavit. ignem perpetuum exstinguere voluit. nec Romanas tantum exstinguere voluit religiones, sed per orbem terrae, unum studens, ut Heliogabalus deus ubique coleretur. et in penum Vestae, quod solae virgines solique pontifices adeunt, inrupit, pollutus ipse omni contagione

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[1] Cf. c. xi. 1; xii. 1-2. The same charge is made by Herodian (v. 3, 6-7).

[2] Otherwise unknown.

[3] Called Gordius by Dio (lxxix. 15, 1). He was appointed *praefectus vigilum* (c. xii. 1) but was removed from office at the demand of the soldiers (c. xv. 2).

[4] Originally a slave, from Caria, the pupil and favourite of Cordius; see Dio, lxxix. 15. In 221 the praetorian guard forced Elagabalus to dismiss him, together with other of his unworthy favourites; see c. xv. 2-4; Dio, lxxix. 19, 3. He was finally killed by the soldiers after Elagabalus' murder; see Dio, lxxix. 21, 1.

[5] An ancient festival, held 28 April-3 May. The theatrical performances held in conjunction with it were characterized by lack of decorum and even lewdness and were the target for

VI. He took money for honours and distinctions and positions of power, selling them in person or through his slaves and those who served his lusts. He made appointments to the senate without regard to age, property, or rank, and solely at the price of money, and he sold the positions of captain and tribune, legate and general, likewise procuratorships and posts in the Palace.[1] The charioteers Protogenes[2] and Cordius,[3] originally his comrades in the chariot-race, he later made his associates in his daily life and actions. Many whose personal appearance pleased him he took from the stage, the Circus, and the arena and brought to the palace. And such was his passion for Hierocles[4] that he kissed him in a place which it is indecent even to mention, declaring that he was celebrating the festival of Flora.[5]

He violated the chastity of a Vestal Virgin,[6] and by removing the holy shrines he profaned the sacred rites of the Roman nation.[7] He also desired to extinguish the everlasting fire. In fact, it was his desire to abolish not only the religious ceremonies of the Romans but also those of the whole world, his one wish being that the god Elagabalus should be worshipped everywhere. He even broke into the sanctuary of Vesta, into which only Vestal Virgins and the priests may enter,[8] though himself defiled by every moral stain and in the company of

the criticism of early Christian writers; see Lactantius, *Inst.*, i. 20, 10; Tertullian, *de Spect.*, 17.

[6] Aquilia Severa, whom he married early in 221, after the divorce of his first wife Paula. On this marriage see note to c. iii. 4.

[7] On this and the following statements see c. iii. 4 and note.

[8] As Pontifex Maximus he was entitled to enter.

8 morum cum iis qui se polluerant. et penetrale sacrum est auferre conatus cumque seriam quasi veram rapuisset, quam ei virgo[1] maxima falsam monstraverat, atque in ea nihil repperisset, adplosam fregit. nec tamen quicquam religioni dempsit, quia plures similes factae dicuntur esse, ne quis veram umquam possit
9 auferre. haec cum ita essent, signum tamen quod Palladium esse credebat abstulit et auro tinctum[2] in sui dei templo locavit.

VII. Matris etiam deum sacra accepit et tauroboliatus est, ut typum eriperet et alia sacra quae penitus
2 habentur condita. iactavit autem caput inter praecisos fanaticos et genitalia sibi devinxit et omnia fecit quae Galli facere solent, ablatumque sanctum in
3 penetrale dei sui transtulit. Salambonem etiam

[1] *quam ei uirgo* Jordan, Novák; *quamquisgo* P[1]; *quamque uirgo* Petschenig, Peter[2]. [2] *tinctum* Hirschfeld, Peter[2]; *uinctum* P, Peter[1].

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[1] In the *Penus Vestae*, the Holy of Holies of the Temple of Vesta, were preserved various sacred objects which none but the Vestals and the Pontifex Maximus might look upon. According to Servius (note to *Aeneid*, vii. 188), there were seven of these *pignora*, including the Palladium. They seem to have been kept in a large earthenware crock; Plutarch, *Camillus*, xx., records that two such vessels were kept in the sanctuary, one of which was empty—a belief which seems to be responsible for the statements made here.

[2] See c. iii. 4 and note.

[3] A rite connected with the worship of Caelestis and especially with that of the Magna Mater and in great vogue in Rome in the second and third centuries. Originally a sacrifice of a bull and a ram, it came to have an especial significance as a rite of purification and initiation. The neophyte stood in a pit covered with perforated boards on which a bull was slaughtered. The blood flowing down upon

those who had defiled themselves. He also attempted to carry away the sacred shrine,[1] but instead of the true one he seized only an earthenware one, which the Senior Vestal had shown him in an attempt to deceive him, and when he found nothing in it, he threw it down and broke it. The cult, however, did not suffer at his hands, for several shrines had been made, it is said, exactly like the true one, in order that none might ever be able to take this one away. Though this be so, he nevertheless carried away the image which he believed to be the Palladium, and after washing it over with gold he placed it in the temple of his god.

VII. He also adopted the worship of the Great Mother[2] and celebrated the rite of the taurobolium[3]; and he carried off her image and the sacred objects which are kept hidden in a secret place. He would toss his head to and fro among the castrated devotees of the goddess, and he infibulated himself, and did all that the eunuch-priests are wont to do[4]; and the image of the goddess which he carried off he placed in the sanctuary of his god. He also celebrated the rite of Salambo[5] with all the wailing and the frenzy

the person beneath signified his purification and spiritual re-birth and at the same time his initiation as priest of the Magna Mater; see G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, p. 268 f.

[4] Orgiastic rites, including the act of castration practised in connexion with various eastern cults and especially with that of the Magna Mater, seem to have been performed in the worship of the god Elagabalus. It was believed that magic rites also were celebrated and children sacrificed in his honour; see c. viii. 1-2 and Dio, lxxix. 11, 3.

[5] A Semitic goddess, probably akin to Aphrodite and Tanith-Caelestis, associated with a ceremony of lamentation like the mourning for Adonis.

omni planctu et iactatione Syriaci cultus exhibuit,
4 omen sibi faciens inminentis exitii. omnes sane deos
sui dei ministros esse aiebat, cum alios eius cubicu-
larios appellaret, alios servos, alios diversarum rerum
5 ministros. lapides qui divi dicuntur ex proprio
templo, simulacrum [1] Dianae Laodiceae ex adyto suo,
in quo id Orestes posuerat, adferre voluit.
6 Et Orestem quidem ferunt non unum simulacrum
Dianae nec uno in loco posuisse sed multa in multis.
7 posteaquam se apud Tria Flumina circa Hebrum ex
responso purificavit, etiam Orestam condidit civitatem,
quam saepe cruentari hominum sanguine necesse est.
8 et Orestam quidem urbem Hadrianus suo nomini
vindicari iussit eo tempore, quo furore coeperat
laborare, ex responso, cum ei dictum esset ut in
9 furiosi alicuius domum vel nomen inreperet. nam
ex eo emollitam insaniam ferunt, per quam multos
10 senatores occidi iusserat. quibus servatis Antoninus
Pii nomen meruit, quod eos post ad senatum adduxit
quos omnes iussu principis interfectos credebant.

VIII. Cecidit et humanas hostias, lectis ad hoc

[1] *simulacrum* ins. by Obrecht and Peter; om. in P.

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[1] On the Syrian coast, now Latakîyeh. The tutelary goddess of the place was assimilated to the Greek Artemis Ταυροπόλος, who, as a result of the similarity in name, was blended with the Tauric goddess, brought to Attica, according to Euripides, by Orestes and Iphigenia. The sacred image at Laodicea, presented by King Seleucus, was alleged, like many others in various sanctuaries, to be the original one brought by Orestes, which, it was claimed, had been carried away from Attica to Susa by the Persians; see Pausanias, iii. 16, 8.

[2] An ancient Thracian town called by various names, among them Orestias, re-founded by Hadrian as Hadrianopolis, now Adrianople. It became famous as the scene of a battle between Constantine and Licinius in 323 and of the defeat of

of the Syrian cult—thereby foreshadowing his own impending doom. In fact, he asserted that all gods were merely the servants of his god, calling some its chamberlains, others its slaves, and others its attendants for divers purposes. And he planned to carry off from their respective temples the stones which are said to be divine, among them the emblem of Diana, from its holy place at Laodicea,[1] where it had been dedicated by Orestes.

Now Orestes, they say, dedicated not merely one image of Diana in one place, but many and in many places. And after he purified himself at the Three Rivers in the Hebrus region in obedience to a divine response, he founded the city of Oresta[2]—a city destined to be often stained with human blood. As for this city of Oresta, Hadrian, after he had begun to suffer from madness, ordered that it should be called after his own name—also acting in obedience to a divine response, for he had been told to steal into the house or into the name of some madman. Thereupon, they say, he recovered from his madness, which had caused him to order the execution of many senators, all of whom, however, were saved by Antoninus; for he won the surname of Pius by leading them into the senate after all supposed that they had been put to death by the Emperor's order.[3]

VIII. Elagabalus also sacrificed human victims,[4] and

Valens by the Goths in 378. Both these battles seem to be alluded to in this passage, and this has been used as an argument for the theory that the *Historia Augusta* was written at the end of the fourth century; see Intro. to vol. ii. p. viii f. This whole paragraph, however, breaks the continuity of the narrative and is evidently a later addition.

[3] See *Hadr.*, xxiv. 4; *Pius*, ii. 4.

[4] See c. vii. 2 and note.

pueris nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis et matrimis, credo ut maior esset utrique parenti dolor. omne denique magorum genus aderat illi operabaturque cottidie, hortante illo et gratias dis agente, quod amicos eorum invenisset, cum inspiceret exta puerilia et excruciaret hostias ad ritum gentilem suum.

3 Cum consulatum inisset, in populum non nummos vel argenteos vel aureos vel[1] bellaria vel minuta animalia, sed boves opimos[2] et camelos et asinos et servos populo diripiendos abiecit, imperatorium id esse dictitans.

4 Insecutus est famam Macrini crudeliter, sed multo magis Diadumeni, quod Antoninus dictus est, Pseudo-Antoninum[3] eum appellans, simul quod ex luxuriosissimo exstitisse vir fortissimus, optimus, gravissimus, 5 severissimus diceretur. coegit denique scriptores nonnullos nefanda, immo potius impatibilia[4] de eiusdem luxuria dictu[5] disputare, ut in vita[6] eius.

6 Lavacrum publicum in aedibus aulicis fecit, simul et Plautini populo exhibuit, ut ex eo condiciones bene 7 vasatorum hominum colligeret. idque diligenter

[1] *uel* om. in P. [2] *optimos* P. [3] *Pseudoantoninum et Pseudophilippum* P[1]; *et Ps.* del. by Salm. and Peter. [4] *impatibilia* Editor; *mipace* P; *impia* Egnatius, Peter[1]; *inepta* Peter[2]. [5] *luxuria dictu* Editor; *dictum luxuria* P; *Diadumeni luxuria* Peter. [6] *disputare ut in uita* P; *disputarent in uita* Salm., Peter[1]; *disputare, ut in uita eius . . .* Peter[2].

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[1] This is related by Herodian (v. 6, 9) in connection with the removal of the god Elagabalus from the Palatine to his suburban temple (see note to c. iii. 4).

[2] See *Diad.*, i. 3; vi. 10.

[3] These details are not in the *Vita Diadumeni*.

for this purpose he collected from the whole of Italy children of noble birth and beautiful appearance, whose fathers and mothers were alive, intending, I suppose, that the sorrow, if suffered by two parents, should be all the greater. Finally, he kept about him every kind of magician and had them perform daily sacrifices, himself urging them on and giving thanks to the gods because he found them to be well-disposed to these men; and all the while he would examine the children's vitals and torture the victims after the manner of his own native rites.

When he entered upon his consulship he threw presents to the populace to be scrambled for, no mere pieces of silver and gold, indeed, or confectionery or little animals, but fatted cattle[1] and camels and asses and slaves, declaring that this was an imperial custom.

He made a savage attack on the memory of Macrinus and a still more savage one on that of Diadumenianus because he had received the name Antoninus[2]—he called him a Pseudo-Antoninus—and because it was asserted that from a veritable profligate he had become very brave and honourable and dignified and austere. And he even forced certain writers to recount concerning his profligacy some details which were unspeakable, or, more properly, intolerable to relate, considering that this was in a biography of him.[3]

He made a public bath in the imperial palace and at the same time threw open the bath of Plautinus[4] to the populace, that by this means he might get a supply of men with unusually large organs. He also

[4] Otherwise unknown.

curatum est, ut ex tota penitus urbe atque ex nauticis onobeli[1] quaererentur. sic eos appellabant qui viriliores videbantur.

IX. Cum Marcomannis bellum inferre vellet, quod Antoninus pulcherrime profligarat, dictum est a quibusdam per Chaldaeos et magos Antoninum Marcum id egisse, ut Marcomanni populo Romano semper devoti essent atque amici, idque factum[2] carminibus et consecratione.[3] et cum quaereret quae illa esset vel
2 ubi esset, suppressum est. constabat enim illum ob hoc consecrationem quaerere, ut eam dissiparet spe belli concitandi, et idcirco maxime quod audierat responsum fuisse ab Antonino bellum Marcomannicum finiendum, cum hic Varius et Heliogabalus et ludibrium publicum diceretur, nomen autem Antonini
3 pollueret, in quod invaserat. prodebatur autem per eos maxime, qui dolebant sibi homines ad exercendas libidines bene vasatos et maioris peculii opponi. unde etiam de nece eius cogitari coepit. et haec quidem domi.

X. Sed milites pestem illam imperatoris velari nomine pati nequierunt ac primum inter sese deinde per coronas iecere sermones, in Alexandrum omnes inclinantes, qui iam Caesar erat a senatu eo tempore

[1] *onobeli* Lipsius, Peter[2]; *monobiles* P. [2] *factum* Peter[1]; *factus* P; *sacris* Petschenig, Peter[2]. [3] *carminibus et consecratione. cumque* Jordan, Peter[2]; *carminibus. et consecrationem cum* P, Peter[1], Lenze.

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[1] *i.e.* like an ass in this respect.

[2] Probably Caracalla's campaign against the Alamanni is meant; see note to *Carac.*, v. 3. Perhaps, however, it is an

took care to have the whole city and the wharves searched for *onobeli*,[1] as those were called who seemed particularly lusty.

IX. When he was making plans to take up the war against the Marcomanni, which Marcus Antoninus[2] had fought with great glory, he was told by certain persons that it was by the help of astrologers and magicians that Marcus had made the Marcomanni forever the liegemen and friends of the Roman people, and that it had been done by means of magic rites and a dedication. But when he inquired what this was or where it could be obtained, he could get no response. For it was generally reported that he inquired about this dedication solely for the purpose of destroying it, hoping thereby to bring on the war; for he had been told that there was a prophesy that the Marcomannic war should be ended by an Antoninus—whereas he was called Varius and Elagabalus and a public laughing-stock, and he was, moreover, a disgrace to the name of Antoninus, on which he had laid violent hands. This report, moreover, was spread by those most of all who were aggrieved that men well equipped for gratifying his lusts and of larger resources were opposed to themselves. And for this reason they even began to plot his death. So much for domestic affairs.

X. As for the soldiers, they could not endure to have such a pest clothed with the name of emperor, and they all expressed their views, first one to another, then in groups, turning their thoughts to Alexander, who previously, at the time when Macrinus was

allusion to the Marcomannic war of Marcus Aurelius, as a result of which the Marcomanni accepted terms like those described here; see Dio, lxxii. 2.

quo Macrinus interemptus est appellatus, consobrinus[1] huius Antonini, nam Varia una iis erat avia, unde Heliogabalus Varius dicebatur.

2 Zoticus sub eo tantum valuit ut ab omnibus officiorum principibus sic haberetur quasi domini maritus.
3 erat praeterea idem Zoticus qui hoc familiaritatis genere abutens omnia Heliogabali dicta et facta venderet fumis, quam maxime divitias enormes parans,[2] cum aliis minaretur, aliis polliceretur, omnes falleret egrediensque ab illo singulos adiret dicens, "de te hoc locutus sum," "de te hoc audivi," "de
4 te hoc futurum est". ut sunt homines huiusmodi, qui, si admissi fuerint ad nimiam familiaritatem principum, famam non solum malorum sed et bonorum principum vendunt et qui stultitia vel innocentia imperatorum, qui hoc non perspiciunt, infami rumigeratione
5 pascuntur. nupsit et coit, ita ut[3] et pronubam haberet clamaretque "Concide Magire," et eo quidem tempore
6 quo Zoticus aegrotabat. quaerebat deinde a philosophis et gravissimis viris, an et ipsi in adulescentia perpessi essent quae ipse pateretur, et[4] quidem im-

[1] so Petschenig; *eo tempore quo Macrinus huius Ant.* P; *eo tempore consobrinus huius* Salm., Peter. [2] so Gemoll, Peter[2]; *enormę sperans* P. [3] *ita ut* Kellerbauer, Peter[2]; *aut* P. [4] *et* om. in P.

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[1] An error; see note to c. v. 1. This paragraph forms a transition to the narrative of the attempted assassination of Alexander and the consequent outbreak among the soldiers (c. xiii.-xv.) The connexion is broken by the more personal material contained in c. x. 2—xii.

[2] Aurelius Zoticus, an athlete from Smyrna, brought to Rome by order of Elagabalus. His father had been a cook and he was accordingly given the nickname of Μάγειρος (= cook). For a further account of him see Dio, lxxix. 16.

murdered, had been hailed by the senate as Caesar[1] —he was the cousin of this Antoninus, for both were grandsons of Varia, from whom Elagabalus had the name Varius.

During his reign Zoticus[2] had such influence that all the chiefs of the palace-departments treated him as their master's consort. This same Zoticus, furthermore, was the kind to abuse such a degree of intimacy, for under false pretences[3] he sold all Elagabalus' promises and favours, and so, as far as he could, he amassed enormous wealth. To some men he held out threats, and to others promises, lying to them all, and as he came out from the Emperor's presence, he would go up to each and say, "In regard to you I said this," "in regard to you I was told that," and "in regard to you this action will be taken". That is the way of men of this kind, for, once admitted to too close an intimacy with a ruler, they sell information concerning his intentions, whether he be good or bad, and so, through the stupidity or the innocence of an emperor who does not detect their intrigues, batten on the shameless hawking of rumours.[4] With this man Elagabalus went through a nuptial ceremony and consummated a marriage, even having a bridal-matron and exclaiming, "Go to work, Cook"—and this at a time when Zoticus was ill. After that he would ask philosophers and even men of the greatest dignity whether they, in their youth, had ever experienced what he was experiencing—all without the slightest

[3] See note to *Pius*, vi. 4.

[4] An implicit comparison with the policy of Alexander; see *Alex.*, xxiii. 8; lxvii. 2.

7 pudentissime; neque enim umquam verbis pepercit infamibus, cum et digitis impudicitiam ostentaret, nec ullus in conventu et audiente populo esset pudor.

XI. Fecit libertos praesides, legatos, consules, duces, omnesque dignitates polluit ignobilitate homi-
2 num perditorum. cum ad vindemias vocasset amicos nobiles et ad corbes sedisset, gravissimum quemque percontari coepit, an promptus esset in Venerem, erubescentibusque senibus exclamabat "Erubuit, salva res est," silentium ac ruborem pro consensu ducens.
3 addidit praeterea ipse quae faceret, sine ullius pudoris
4 velamento. postquam senes vidit erubescere ac tacere, vel quia aetas vel quia dignitas talia refutabat, contulit se ad iuvenes et ab his coepit omnia ex-
5 quirere. a quibus cum audiret aetati congrua, gaudere coepit, dicens [1] vere liberam vindemiam esse quam sic
6 celebraret. ferunt multi ab ipso primum repertum, ut in vindemiarum festivo multa in dominos iocularia et audientibus dominis dicerentur, quae ipse composuerat, et Graeca maxime. horum pleraque Marius
7 Maximus dicit in vita ipsius Heliogabali. erant

[1] *dicens* Peter; *dicere* P.

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[1] Cf. c. vi. 1-4; xii. 1-2.

[2] The term *amici Augusti* denoted those persons who were officially recognized as qualified to enter the emperor's presence, and the word *amici* is used in this sense in this and the following biographies and occasionally also in the preceding, *e.g. Hadr.*, xviii. 1; *Pius*, vi. 11; *Marc.*, vii. 3; x. 3; xxvii.-xxix.; *Com.*, iii. 1. The *amici* included probably all the senators and selected members of the equestrian order; their names were announced in the *Acta Urbis* see note to *Com.*, xv. 4) and were probably entered in an official register. From their numbers were taken the *consiliarii Augusti* (see

shame. For indeed he never refrained from filthy conversation and would make indecent signs with his fingers and would show no regard for decency even in public gatherings or in the hearing of the people.

XI. He made his freedmen governors and legates, consuls and generals, and he brought disgrace on all offices of distinction by the appointment of base-born profligates.[1] On one occasion he invited the nobles of the court[2] to a vintage-festival, and when he had seated himself by the baskets of grapes, he began to ask the most dignified of them one by one whether he were responsive to Venus, and when the old men would blush he would cry out, "He is blushing, it's all right," regarding their silence and blushes as a confession. He then narrated his own doings without any cloak of shame. But when he saw that the elders blushed and kept silent, because neither their age nor their dignity was in keeping with such topics, he turned to the young men and began to question them about all their experiences. And when they told him what one would expect of their age, he began to be merry, declaring that a vintage celebrated in such a manner was truly bacchanalian. Many relate, furthermore, that he was the first to devise the custom of having slaves make jibes at their masters' expense during a vintage-festival, even in the hearing of their masters, which jibes he had composed himself, most of them in Greek; several of these, indeed, are quoted by Marius Maximus in his *Life of Elagabalus*. His courtiers, moreover, were men of

note to *Hadr.*, viii. 9) and the *comites* (*Hadr.*, xviii. 1; *Ver.*, vii. 6-8; *Alex.*, xxxii. 1), who were officially appointed to accompany the emperor on his journeys.

amici improbi et senes quidam et specie philosophi qui caput reticulo componerent, qui improba quaedam pati se dicerent, qui maritos se habere iactarent. quos quidam finxisse dicunt, ut illi fierent vitiorum imitatione cariores.

XII. Ad praefecturam praetorii saltatorem, qui histrionicam Romae fecerat, adscivit, praefectum vigilum Cordium aurigam fecit, praefectum annonae
2 Claudium tonsorem.[1] ad honores reliquos promovit commendatos sibi pudibilium enormitate membrorum. ad vicensimam hereditatium mulionem curare iussit, iussit et cursorem, iussit et cocum et claustrarium
3 artificem. cum ingressus est vel Castra vel Curiam, aviam suam, Variam nomine, de qua superius dictum est, secum induxit, ut eius auctoritate honestior fieret, quia per se non poterat; nec ante eum, quod iam diximus, senatum mulier ingressa est ita, ut ad scriben-
4 dum rogaretur et sententiam diceret. in conviviis exsoletos maxime iuxta se ponebat eorumque adtrectatione et tactu praecipue gaudebat, nec quisquam ei magis poculum cum bibisset dabat.

XIII. Inter haec mala vitae impudicissimae Alexandrum, quem sibi adoptaverat, a se amoveri iussit, dicens

[1] *tonsorem* Salm., Peter; *censorem* P.

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[1] Probably Valerius Comazon Eutychianus, a freedman; see Dio, lxxviii. 31, 1; lxxix. 4, 1-2; Herodian, v. 7, 6. He aided in the overthrow of Macrinus and was appointed prefect of the guard. Later he received the consular insignia and in 220 was Elagabalus' colleague in the consulship. He was prefect of the city on three different occasions.

depraved life, some of them old men looking like philosophers, who would do up their hair in nets, declare that they were living a life of depravity, and boast that they had husbands. Some say, however, that they only made a pretence of this in order that by counterfeiting the Emperor's vices they might stand higher in his favour.

XII. As prefect of the guard he appointed a dancer[1] who had been on the stage at Rome, as prefect of the watch a chariot-driver named Cordius,[2] and as prefect of the grain-supply a barber named Claudius,[3] and to the other posts of distinction he advanced men whose sole recommendation was the enormous size of their privates. As collector of the five-per-cent tax on inheritances[4] he appointed a mule-driver, a courier, a cook, and a locksmith. When he went to the Camp or the Senate-house he took with him his grandmother, Varia by name, whom I have previously mentioned,[5] in order that through her prestige he might get greater respect—for by himself he got none. And never before his time, as I have already said, did a woman come into the Senate-chamber or receive an invitation to take part in the drafting of a decree and express her opinion in the debate. At his banquets he preferred to have perverts placed next to him and took special delight in touching or fondling them, and whenever he drank one of them was usually selected to hand him the cup.

XIII. Among the base actions of his life of depravity he gave orders that Alexander, whom he had

[2] See c. vi. 3 and note.
[3] Otherwise unknown.
[4] See note to *Marc.*, xi. 8.
[5] See c. iv. 2 and note.

se paenitere adoptionis, mandavitque ad senatum ut
2 Caesaris ei nomen abrogaretur. sed in senatu hoc
prodito ingens silentium fuit; si quidem erat optimus
iuvenis Alexander, ut postea[1] comprobatum genere
imperii eius, cum ideo displiceret patri, quod impudi-
3 cus non esset. erat autem eidem consobrinus, ut
quidam dicunt. a militibus etiam amabatur et senatui
4 acceptus erat et equestri ordini. nec defuit tamen
furor usque ad exitum voti pessimi. nam ei percus-
5 sores inmisit, et hoc quidem modo: ipse secessit ad
hortos Spei Veteris, quasi contra novum iuvenem vota
concipiens, relicta in Palatio matre et avia et conso-
brino suo, iussitque ut trucidaretur iuvenis optimus
6 et rei publicae necessarius. misit et ad milites litte-
ras, quibus iussit ut abrogaretur nomen Caesaris
7 Alexandro. misit qui et in Castris statuarum eius
8 titulos luto tegeret, ut fieri solet de tyrannis. misit
et ad nutritores eius, quibus imperavit sub praemiorum
spe atque honorum, ut eum occiderent quo vellent
XIV. modo, vel in balneis vel veneno vel ferro. sed nihil
agunt improbi contra innocentes. nam nulla vi quis

[1] *Alexander, ut postea* Salm., Peter; *Alexandrum postea* P.

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[1] The account of the attempt to remove Alexander and the ensuing mutiny of the troops and the story of Elagabalus' downfall as contained in c. xiii.–xvii. form a coherent and seemingly correct narrative, which presents a great contrast to the ill-arranged and often absurd details contained in the earlier chapters of the biography. It is evidently taken from a different source, and it is fuller and clearer than the account of either Dio or Herodian.

[2] The general popularity of Alexander is attested by Dio, lxxix. 19, 1. According to Herodian, v. 8, 2-3, the soldiers' devotion to him was strengthened by Mamaea, who secretly distributed money among them.

formally adopted, be removed from his presence,[1] saying that he regretted the adoption. Then he commanded the senate to take away from Alexander the name of Caesar. But when this was announced to the senate, there was a profound silence. For Alexander was an excellent youth, as was afterwards shown by the character of his rule, even though, because he was chaste, he was displeasing to his adoptive father—he was also, as some declare, his cousin. Besides, he was loved by the soldiers and acceptable to the senate and the equestrian order.[2] Yet the Emperor's madness went the length of an attempt to carry out the basest design; for he despatched assassins to kill Alexander, and that in the following way: Leaving his mother, grandmother, and cousin in the Palace, he himself withdrew to the Gardens of Spes Vetus[3] on the ground that he was forming designs against some new youth, and there he issued an order to slay Alexander, a most excellent young man and one of whom the state had need. He also sent a written order to the soldiers bidding them take away from Alexander the name of Caesar, and he despatched men to smear mud on the inscriptions on his statues in the Camp,[4] as is usually done to a tyrant. He sent, furthermore, to Alexander's guardians, ordering them, if they hoped for rewards and distinctions, to kill him in any way they wished, either in his bath, or by poison, or with the sword. XIV. But evil men can accomplish nothing against the upright. For no power could induce any to commit so great a crime,

[3] See note to c. iii. 4.
[4] See note to *Carac.*, ii. 4.

adduci potuit, ut tantum facinus impleret, cum in ipsum magis conversa sint tela quae parabat aliis, ab iisque sit [1] interfectus quibus alios adpetebat.

2 Sed ubi primum lutati sunt tituli statuarum, milites omnes exarserunt, et pars in Palatium, pars in hortos, in quibus erat Varius, ire tendunt, ut Alexandrum vindicarent hominemque impurum eundemque par-
3 ricidalis animi tandem a re publica depellerent. et cum in Palatium venissent, Alexandrum cum matre atque avia custoditum diligentissime postea in Castra
4 duxerunt. secuta autem erat illos Symiamira mater
5 Heliogabali pedibus, sollicita filio. inde itum est in hortos, ubi Varius invenitur certamen aurigandi [2] parans, exspectans tamen intentissime, quando eidem
6 nuntiaretur consobrinus occisus. qui subito militum strepitu exterritus in angulum se condit obiectuque veli cubicularis, quod in introitu erat cubiculi, se texit,
7 missis [3] praefectis alio ad compescendos milites in Castra, alio vero ad eos placandos qui iam in hortos
8 venissent. Antiochianus igitur e praefectis unus milites qui in hortos venerant sacramenti [4] admonitione exoravit ne illum occiderent, quia nec multi venerant et plerique cum vexillo, quod Aristomachus tribunus re-
XV. tinuerat, remanserant. haec in hortis. in Castris vero milites precanti praefecto dixerunt se parsuros esse Heliogabalo, si et impuros homines et aurigas et histri-

[1] *sit* om. in P. [2] *augurandi* P. [3] so Lenze; *misit praefectis alio . . . alio* P; *misit praefectos alios . . . alios* Peter. [4] *et sacramenti* Peter; *et* not in P acc. to S.H. Ballou (*Cl. Philol.* iii, p. 273).

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[1] Otherwise unknown, but evidently prefect of the guard.

and the weapons which he was making ready for others were turned against himself, and it was by the same violent means that he was directing at others that he himself was put to death.

But immediately after the inscriptions on Alexander's statues were smeared with mud, all the soldiers were fired with anger, and they set out, some for the Palace and some for the gardens where Varius was, with the purpose of protecting Alexander and finally ridding the state of this filthy creature full of murderous intent. And when they had come to the Palace they set a guard about Alexander and his mother and grandmother and then escorted them with the greatest care to the Camp; Symiamira, Elagabalus' mother, followed them on foot, filled with anxiety about her son. Then the soldiers went to the gardens, where they found Varius making preparations for a chariot-race and at the same time eagerly awaiting the news of his cousin's murder. Alarmed by the sudden clatter of the soldiers, he crouched down in a corner and covered himself with the curtain which was at the door of the bed-chamber, sending one of the prefects to the Camp to quiet the soldiers there and the other to placate those who had just entered the gardens. Then Antiochianus,[1] one of the prefects, reminded the soldiers who had come to the gardens of their oath of allegiance and finally persuaded them not to kill the Emperor—for, in fact, only a few had come and the majority had remained with the standard, which the tribune Aristomachus had kept back. So much for what happened in the gardens. XV. In the Camp, on the other hand, the soldiers replied to the entreaties of the prefect that they would spare Elagabalus' life on the condition

ones a se dimoveret atque ad bonam frugem rediret, iis maxime summotis qui cum omnium dolore apud eum plurimum poterant et qui omnia eius vendebant vel
2 veritate vel fumis. remoti sunt denique ab eo Hierocles, Cordius, et Mirissimus et duo improbi familiares,
3 qui eum ex stulto stultiorem faciebant. mandatum praeterea a militibus praefectis, ne paterentur illum ita diutius vivere, et ut Alexander custodiretur, neve [1] illi aliqua vis adferretur, simul ne Caesar quempiam amicum Augusti videret ne ulla fieret imitatio turpi-
4 tudinis. sed Heliogabalus et ingenti prece Hieroclem reposcebat impudicissimum hominem et insidias
5 in dies Caesaris propagabat. denique kalendis Ianuariis, cum simul tum designati essent consules, noluit
6 cum consobrino procedere. ad extremum cum ei avia et mater dicerent inminere milites ad eius exitium, nisi concordiam viderent inter se consobrinorum, sumpta praetexta hora diei sexta processit ad senatum, avia sua ad senatum vocata et ad sellam perducta.
7 deinde in Capitolium ad vota concipienda et perficienda sollemnia ire noluit, omniaque [2] per praetorem [3] urbanum facta sunt, quasi consules illic non essent.

XVI. Nec distulit caedem consobrini, sed timens ne senatus ad alium quem [4] se inclinaret, si ille consobrinum occidisset, iussit subito senatum urbe

[1] *neue* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *ne uel* P, Peter[1]. [2] *omnia* P. [3] *praetorem* Mommsen; *p̃r* P; *praefectum* Peter. [4] *alium quem* Peter[2]; *aliquam* P.

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[1] See c. vi. 3-5.

[2] Otherwise unknown.

[3] For their formal inauguration as consuls in the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitolium.

that he would send away all his filthy creatures, his chariot-drivers, and his actors, and return to a decent mode of living, dismissing particularly those who, to the general sorrow, possessed the greatest influence over him and sold all his decisions, actual or pretended. He did, finally, dismiss Hierocles, Cordius,[1] and Mirissimus[2] and two other base favourites who were making him even more of a fool than he was naturally. The soldiers, furthermore, charged the prefects not to permit him to continue longer his present mode of living, and also to keep watch over Alexander that no violence might be done him, and at the same time to prevent the Caesar from seeing any of the friends of the Augustus, lest he imitate their baseness. But Elagabalus with earnest entreaties kept demanding back Hierocles, that most shameless of men, and daily increased his plotting against Alexander. Finally, on the Kalends of January, he refused to appear in 1 Jan., 222.
public with his cousin[3]—for they had been designated joint consuls. At last, however, when he was told by his grandmother and mother that the soldiers were threatening that they would kill him unless they saw that harmony was established between himself and his cousin, he put on the bordered toga and at the sixth hour of the day entered the senate, inviting his grandmother to the session and escorting her to a seat. But then he refused to proceed to the Capitolium to assume the vows for the state and conduct the usual ceremonies, and accordingly everything was done by the city-praetor, just as if there were no consuls there.

XVI. Nevertheless he did not give up the murder of his cousin, but first, for fear that if he killed him the senate would only turn to some one else, he gave

decedere. omnesque quibus aut vehicula aut servi deerant subito proficisci iussi sunt, cum alii per baiulos, alii per fortuita animalia et mercede conducta vehe-
2 rentur. Sabinum consularem virum, ad quem libros Ulpianus scripsit, quod in urbe remansisset, vocato
3 centurione mollioribus verbis iussit occidi. sed centurio aure surdiori imperari sibi credidit ut urbe pelleretur, itaque fecit. sic vitium centurionis Sabino
4 saluti fuit. removit et Ulpianum iuris consultum ut bonum virum et Silvinum rhetorem, quem magistrum Caesaris fecerat. et Silvinus quidem occisus est, Ulpianus vero reservatus.

5 Sed milites et maxime praetorianus, vel scientes quae mala in Heliogabalum pararentur,[1] vel quod sibi viderent invidiam, facta[2] conspiratione ad liberandam rem publicam primum conscios . . . genere mortis,[3] cum alios vitalibus exemptis necarent, alios ab ima parte perfoderent, ut mors esset vitae consentiens.
XVII. post hoc in eum impetus factus est atque in latrina ad quam confugerat occisus. tractus deinde per publicum ; addita iniuria cadaveri est, ut id in cloacam
2 milites mitterent. sed cum non cepisset cloaca fortuito, per pontem Aemilium, adnexo pondere ne

[1] *quae . . . pararentur* Editor; *qui . . . pararant* P, Peter. [2] *facta* Jordan ; *factaque* P ; † *factaque* Peter[2]. [3] *conscii genere mortis* P ; *consciuere mortem his* Salm., Peter[1] ; † *conscii genere mortis* Peter[2].

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[1] Perhaps Fabius Sabinus, later a member of Alexander's *consilium* ; see *Alex.*, lxviii. 1.

[2] Domitius Ulpianus, the famous jurist, often quoted in the *Digesta*. He had been appointed assistant to Papinian, the prefect of the guard, by Severus and had held other cabinet-offices ; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4. He was made prefect of the guard by Alexander and had great influence during the latter's

orders that the senate should at once leave the city. Even all those senators who had no carriages or slaves were ordered to set out at once, some of them being carried by porters, others using animals that chance threw in their way or that they hired for money. And because Sabinus,[1] a man of consular rank, to whom Ulpian[2] dedicated some of his books, remained in the city, the Emperor called a centurion and ordered him to kill him, speaking in a low tone. But the centurion, who was rather deaf, thought that he was being ordered to eject Sabinus from the city and acted accordingly; and so a centurion's infirmity saved Sabinus' life. He dismissed both Ulpian the jurist because he was a righteous man and Silvinus the rhetorician, whom he had appointed tutor to Alexander. Silvinus, in fact, was put to death, but Ulpian was spared.

The soldiers, however, and particularly the members of the guard, either because they knew what evils were in store for Elagabalus, or because they foresaw his hatred for themselves, formed a conspiracy to set the state free. First they attacked the accomplices in his plan of murdering Alexander, killing some by tearing out the vital organs and others by piercing the anus, so that their deaths were as evil as their lives. XVII. Next they fell upon Elagabalus himself and slew him in a latrine in which he had taken refuge. Then his body was dragged through the streets, and the soldiers further insulted it by thrusting it into a sewer. But since the sewer chanced to be too small to admit the corpse, they attached a weight to it to keep it from floating, and hurled it

reign; see *Alex. pass.* He was finally killed by the mutinous praetorians; see Dio, lxxx. 2.

fluitaret, in Tiberim abiectum est, ne umquam sepeliri
3 posset. tractum est cadaver eius etiam per Circi
spatia, priusquam in Tiberim praecipitaretur.
4 Nomen eius, id est Antonini, erasum est senatu
iubente remansitque Varii Heliogabali, si quidem
illud adfectato retinuerat, cum vult videri filius An-
5 tonini. appellatus est post mortem Tiberinus et
Tractaticius et Impurus et multa, si quando ea erant
6 designanda quae sub eo facta videbantur. solusque
omnium principum et tractus est et in cloacam missus
7 et in Tiberim praecipitatus. quod odio communi
omnium contigit, a quo speciatim cavere debent im-
peratores, si quidem nec sepulchra mereantur qui
amorem senatus populi ac militum non merentur.
8 Opera publica ipsius praeter aedem Heliogabali
dei, quem Solem alii, alii Iovem dicunt, et Amphi-
theatri instaurationem post exustionem et lavacrum
in vico Sulpicio, quod Antoninus Severi filius coeperat,
9 nulla exstant. et lavacrum quidem Antoninus Cara-
callus dedicaverat et lavando et populum admittendo,
sed porticus defuerant, quae postea ab hoc subditicio [1]
Antonino exstructae sunt, ab Alexandro perfectae.

[1] *subditicio* Salm., Peter[1]; *subdecio* P; *subditiuo* Opitz, Peter[2].

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[1] Crossing the Tiber at the Forum Boarium, approximately the position of the modern Ponte Emilio.

[2] It is erased in many of his inscriptions; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 468 f.

[3] See note to c. i. 1.

[4] Because his body was thrown into the Tiber; so also Dio, lxxix. 21, 3.

[5] The Colosseum. It had been struck by lightning during the reign of Macrinus (Dio, lxxvii. 25, 2-3).

from the Aemilian Bridge[1] into the Tiber, in order that it might never be buried. The body was also dragged around the Circus before it was thrown into the Tiber.

His name, that is to say the name Antoninus, was erased from the public records by order of the senate[2] —though the name Varius Elagabalus was left[3]—, for he had used the name Antoninus without valid claim, wishing to be thought the son of Antoninus. After his death he was dubbed the *Tiberine*,[4] the *Dragged*, the *Filthy*, and many other such names, all of which were to signify what seemed to have been done during his rule. And he was the only one of all the emperors whose body was dragged through the streets, thrust into a sewer, and hurled into the Tiber. This befell him as the result of the general hatred of all, against which particularly emperors must be on their guard, since those who do not win the love of the senate, the people, and the soldiers do not win the right of burial.

No public works of his are in existence, save the temple of the god Elagabalus (called by some the Sun, by others Jupiter), the Amphitheatre[5] as restored after its destruction by fire, and the public bath in the Vicus Sulpicius,[6] begun by Antoninus, the son of Severus. This bath, in fact, had been dedicated by Antoninus Caracalla, who bathed in it himself and opened it to the public, but the portico was left unbuilt, and this was added after his death by this spurious Antoninus, though actually completed by Alexander.[7]

[6] See *Carac.*, ix. 4 and 9 and notes.
[7] See *Alex.*, xxv. 6.

XVIII. Hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit (quamvis cognomine postea Gordianos multi Antoninos putent, qui Antonii dicti sunt, non Antonini) vita, moribus, improbitate ita odibilis, ut eius senatus et nomen
2 eraserit. quem nec ego Antoninum vocassem nisi causa cognitionis, quae cogit plerumque dici ea etiam nomina quae sunt abolita.

Occisa est cum eo et mater Symiamira probrosissima
3 mulier et digna filio. cautumque ante omnia post Antoninum Heliogabalum ne umquam mulier senatum ingrederetur, utique inferis eius caput dicaretur devovereturque per quem id esset factum.

4 De huius vita multa in litteras missa sunt obscena, quae quia digna memoratu non sunt, ea prodenda censui quae ad luxuriam pertinebant, quorum aliqua privatus, aliqua iam imperator fecisse perhibetur, cum ipse e privatis diceret se Apicium, imperatorum vero[1]
XIX. Othonem et Vitellium imitari. nam primus omnium privatorum toros aureis toralibus texit, quia tunc ex Antonini Marci auctoritate id fieri licebat, qui omnem
2 apparatum imperatorium publice vendiderat. deinde aestiva convivia coloribus exhibuit, ut hodie prasinum, vitreum alia die, venetum deinceps[2] exhiberet, semper

[1] *e priuatis . . . imperatorum uero* Petschenig, Peter[2]; *priuatus . . . imperatorem uero* P. [2] *et deinceps* P.

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[1] See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and notes.

[2] According to Dio, lxxix. 20, 2, he was killed in her arms and her body was dragged about the streets with his.

[3] See c. iv. 1-2.

[4] The rest of this biography is entirely made up of these anecdotes.

[5] See *Ael.*, v. 9 and note.

[6] See *Marc.*, xvii. 4-6; xxi. 9.

XVIII. He was the last of the Antonines (though many think that later the Gordians had the cognomen Antoninus, whereas they were really called Antonius and not Antoninus [1]), a man so detestable for his life, his character, and his utter depravity that the senate expunged from the records even his name. I myself should not have referred to him as Antoninus save for the sake of identification, which frequently makes it necessary to use even those names which officially have been abolished.

With him was also slain his mother Symiamira,[2] a most depraved woman and one worthy of such a son. And the first measure enacted after the death of Antoninus Elagabalus provided that no woman should ever enter the senate,[3] and that whoever should cause a woman to enter, his life should be declared doomed and forfeited to the kingdom of the dead.

Concerning his life many filthy anecdotes have been put into writing, but since they are not worthy of being recorded, I have thought I ought to relate only such deeds as illustrate his extravagance.[4] Some of these, it is said, were done before he ascended the throne, others after he was made emperor; for he himself declared that his models were Apicius [5] among commoners and, among emperors, Otho and Vitellius. XIX. For example, he was the first commoner to cover his couches with golden coverlets—for this was lawful then by authorization of Marcus Antoninus, who had sold at public auction all the imperial trappings.[6] Also, he gave summer-banquets in various colours, one day a green banquet, another day an iridescent one, and next in order a blue one, varying them continually every day of the summer. Moreover, he was the first to use silver urns and casseroles,

3 varie per dies omnes aestivos. primus deinde authepsas argenteas habuit, primus etiam caccabos. vasa deinde centenaria argentea scalpta et nonnulla sche-
4 matibus libidinosissimis inquinata. et mastichatum et puleiatum et omnia haec quae nunc luxuria retinet
5 primus invenit. nam rosatum ab aliis acceptum pinearum etiam adtritione odoratius reddidit. denique haec genera poculorum ante Heliogabalum non
6 leguntur. nec erat ei ulla vita nisi exquirere voluptates. primus fecit de piscibus insicia, primus de ostreis et leiostreis et aliis huiusmodi marinis conchis
7 et locustis et cammaris et scillis. stravit et triclinia de rosa et lectos et porticus ac sic deambulavit, idque omni florum genere, liliis, violis, hyacinthis,
8 et narcissis. hic non nisi unguento nobili aut croco
9 piscinis infectis natavit. nec cubuit in accubitis facile nisi iis quae pilum leporinum haberent aut plumas perdicum subalares, saepe culcitas mutans.

XX. Senatum nonnumquam ita contempsit, ut mancipia togata appellaret, populum Romanum unius fundi cultorem, equestrem ordinem in nullo loco
2 habens. praefectum urbicum saepe post cenam ad potandum vocabat adhibitis et praefectis praetorio, ita ut, si recusarent, magistri officiorum [1] eos cogerent.

[1] *officiorum* Salm., Peter[2]; *horum* P.

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[1] Rome was divided by Augustus into fourteen *regiones*, each of which was administered by a praetor, aedile, or tribune of the plebs. Later, probably under Hadrian, each *regio* was administered by one or two *curatores* of non-senatorial rank, apparently freedmen; see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, ii.[3] p. 1036. The plan of Elagabalus seems to have been carried out, at least in part, by Alexander, who appointed fourteen *curatores* of consular rank, representing the fourteen

and vessels of chased silver, one hundred pounds in weight, some of them spoiled by the lewdest designs. He was also the first to concoct wine seasoned with mastich and with pennyroyal and all such mixtures, which our present luxury retains. And rose-wine, of which he had learned from others, he used to make more fragrant by adding pulverized pine-cone. In fact, all these kinds of cups are not met with in books before the time of Elagabalus. Indeed, for him life was nothing except a search after pleasures. He was the first to make force-meat of fish, or of oysters of various kinds or similar shell-fish, or of lobsters, crayfish and squills. He used to strew roses and all manner of flowers, such as lilies, violets, hyacinths, and narcissus, over his banqueting-rooms, his couches and his porticoes, and then stroll about in them. He would refuse to swim in a pool that was not perfumed with saffron or some other well-known essence. And he could not rest easily on cushions that were not stuffed with rabbit-fur or feathers from under the wings of partridges, and he used, moreover, to change the pillows frequently.

XX. He often showed contempt for the senate, calling them slaves in togas, while he treated the Roman people as the tiller of a single farm and the equestrian order as nothing at all. He frequently invited the city-prefect to a drinking-bout after a banquet and also summoned the prefects of the guard, sending a master of ceremonies, in case they declined, to compel them to come. And he wished to create a city-prefect for each region of Rome, thus making fourteen for the city[1]; and he

regiones, to act as assistants and advisers to the prefect of the city; see *Alex.*, xxxiii. 1.

3 voluit et per singulas urbis regiones[1] praefectos urbi facere, ut[2] essent in urbe quattuordecim. et fecisset, si vixisset, promoturus omnes turpissimos et ultimae professionis homines.

4 Hic solido argento factos habuit lectos et tricliniares
5 et cubiculares. comedit saepius ad imitationem Apicii calcanea camelorum et cristas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum et lusciniarum, quod qui
6 ederet a pestilentia tutus diceretur. exhibuit et Palatinis lances[3] ingentes extis mullorum refertas et cerebellis phoenicopterum et perdicum ovis et cerebellis turdorum et capitibus psittacorum et phasia-
7 norum et pavonum. barbas sane mullorum tantas iubebat exhiberi, ut pro nasturtiis,[4] apiasteris, et phaselaribus et faeno Graeco exhiberet plenis fabatariis et discis. quod praecipue stupendum est.

XXI. Canes iecinoribus anserum pavit. habuit leones et leopardos exarmatos in deliciis, quos edoctos per mansuetarios subito ad secundam et tertiam mensam iubebat accumbere, ignorantibus cunctis quod exarmati essent, ad pavorem ridiculum exci-
2 tandum. misit et uvas Apamenas in praesepia equis suis et psittacis atque phasianis leones pavit et alia
3 animalia. exhibuit et sumina apruna per dies decem tricena cottidie cum suis vulvis, pisum cum aureis, lentem cum cerauniis, fabam cum electris, orizam
4 cum albis exhibens. albas praeterea in vicem piperis
5 piscibus et tuberibus conspersit. oppressit in tri-

[1] *urbis regiones* Cas., Peter[2]; *urbes lenones* P. [2] *et ut* P. [3] *lances* ins. by Salm., om. in P[1]; *ingentes dapes* P corr.; *magides* Peter. [4] *nascentis* P.

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[1] Cf. c. xxv. 1.

[2] An important city in Syria, on the river Orontes.

would have done it, too, had he lived, for he was always ready to promote men of the basest character and the lowest calling.

He had couches made of solid silver for use in his banqueting-rooms and his bed-chambers. In imitation of Apicius he frequently ate camels-heels and also cocks-combs taken from the living birds, and the tongues of peacocks and nightingales, because he was told that one who ate them was immune from the plague. He served to the palace-attendants, moreover, huge platters heaped up with the viscera of mullets, and flamingo-brains, partridge-eggs, thrush-brains, and the heads of parrots, pheasants, and peacocks. And the beards of the mullets that he ordered to be served were so large that they were brought on, in place of cress or parsley or pickled beans or fenugreek, in well filled bowls and disk-shaped platters—a particularly amazing performance.

XXI. He fed his dogs on goose-livers. Among his pets he had lions and leopards, which had been rendered harmless and trained by tamers, and these he would suddenly order during the dessert and the after-dessert to get up on the couches, thereby causing an amusing panic, for none knew that the beaste were harmless.[1] He sent grapes from Apamea [2] to his stables for his horses, and he fed parrots and pheasants to his lions and other wild animals. For ten successive days, moreover, he served wild sows' udders with the matrices, at the rate of thirty a day, serving, besides, peas with gold-pieces, lentils with onyx, beans with amber, and rice with pearls; and he also sprinkled pearls on fish and truffles in lieu of pepper. In a banqueting-room with a reversible ceiling he once overwhelmed his parasites with violets

cliniis versatilibus parasitos suos violis et floribus, sic
ut animam aliqui efflaverint, cum erepere ad summum
6 non possent. condito piscinas et solia temperavit et
rosato atque absinthiato.[1] vulgum ad bibendum in-
vitavit et ipse cum populo tantum bibit, ut in piscina.
eum bibisse intellegeretur, viso quod unus bibisset.
7 eunuchos pro apophoretis dedit, dedit quadrigast
equos stratos, mulos, basternas, et raedas, dedit ee
XXII. aureos millenos et centena pondo argenti. sortes sans
convivales scriptas in coclearibus habuit tales ut alius
exierit "decem camelos," alius "decem muscas," alius
"decem libras auri," alius "decem plumbi," alius
"decem struthiones," alius "decem ova pullina," ut
2 vere sortes essent et fata temptarentur. quod qui-
dem et ludis suis exhibuit, cum et ursos decem et
decem glires et decem lactucas et decem auri libras
in sorte habuit. primusque hunc morem sortis insti-
3 tuit quem nunc videmus. sed vere ad sortem
scaenicos vocavit, cum et canes mortuos et libram
bubulae carnis haberet in sorte et item centum
aureos et mille argenteos et centum folles aeris et
4 alia talia. quae populus tam libenter accepit, ut
eum postea imperare gratularentur.

XXIII. Fertur in euripis vino plenis navales

[1] *absentato* P, Peter.

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[1] Nero did this also (Suetonius, *Nero*, xxxi.), and a similar ceiling in the house of Trimalchio is described in Petronius, *Sat.*, lx.

[2] Follis, as a result of its meaning of "leathern money-bag," was used to denote, in the late empire, various sums of money or coins. The *follis aeris* was a small copper coin containing a slight admixture of silver and equal in value to two denarii of the depreciated currency of Diocletian (see

and other flowers,[1] so that some of them were actually smothered to death, being unable to crawl out to the top. He flavoured his swimming-pools and bath-tubs with essence of spices or of roses or wormwood. And once he invited the common mob to a drinking-bout, and himself drank with the populace, taking so much that on seeing what he alone consumed, people supposed he had been drinking from one of his swimming-pools. As banquet-favours, he gave eunuchs, or four-horse chariots, or horses with saddles, or mules, or litters, or carriages, or a thousand aurei or a hundred pounds of silver. XXII. At his banquets he would also distribute chances inscribed on spoons, the chance of one person reading "ten camels," of another "ten flies," of another "ten pounds of gold," of another "ten pounds of lead," of another "ten ostriches," of another "ten hens-eggs," so that they were chances indeed and men tried their luck. These he also gave at his games, distributing chances for ten bears or ten dormice, ten lettuces or ten pounds of gold. Indeed he was the first to introduce this practice of giving chances, which we still maintain. And the performers too he invited to what really were chances, giving as prizes a dead dog or a pound of beef, or else a hundred aurei, or a hundred pieces of silver, or a hundred coppers,[2] and so on. All this so pleased the populace that after each occasion they rejoiced that he was emperor.

XXIII. He gave a naval spectacle, it is said, on the

note to c. xxiv. 3). As the word *follis* does not seem to have been applied to this coin until the time of Diocletian, the biographer seems to be employing the terminology of his own time and not that of the period of Elagabalus.

circenses exhibuisse, pallia de oenanthio fudisse et elephantorum quattuor quadrigas in Vaticano agitasse dirutis sepulchris quae obsistebant, iunxisse etiam camelos quaternos ad currus in Circo privato specta-
2 culo. serpentes per Marsicae gentis sacerdotes collegisse fertur, eosque subito ante lucem, ut solet populus ad ludos celebres convenire, effudisse, multos-
3 que adflictos morsu et fuga. usus est aurea omni tunica, usus et purpurea, usus et de gemmis Persica,
4 cum gravari se diceret onere voluptatis. habuit et in calciamentis gemmas, et quidem scalptas. quod risum omnibus movit, quasi possent scalpturae nobilium artificum videri in gemmis, quae pedibus ad-
5 haerebant. voluit uti et diademate gemmato, quo pulchrior fieret et magis ad feminarum vultum aptus.
6 quo et usus est domi. fertur et promisisse phoenicem convivis vel pro ea libras auri mille, ita[1] ut in prae-
7 torio eas dimitteret.[2] marinae aquae colymbos exhibuit, in mediterraneis locis maxime, eosdemque

[1] *ita* ins. by Editor. [2] *eas dimitteret* Jordan; †*eos demitteret* P, Peter[2].

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[1] *Euripus*, "strait," denoted in particular the narrow channel between Boeotia and Euboea. It then came to mean any canal or ditch, and was applied to the canal around the Circus, dug by Julius Caesar (Suetonius, *Julius*, xxxix. 2) and filled up by Nero (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, viii. 21).

[2] The *Circus Vaticanus* was constructed by Caligula at the north end of the Janiculum (the present site of the Church of St. Peter). Under Nero it was the scene of the tortures inflicted on the Christians; see Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44. The context of the present passage, however, seems to indicate that it was not this circus that was the scene of Elagabalus' exploit, but the immediate vicinity, generally known as *Vaticanum*, where remains of tombs have been discovered; see O. Richter, *Topographie d. Stadt Rom*,[2] p. 280 f.

Circus-canals,[1] which had been filled with wine, and he sprinkled the people's cloaks with perfume made from the wild grape; also he drove a chariot drawn by four elephants on the Vatican Hill,[2] destroying the tombs which obstructed the way, and he harnessed four camels to a chariot at a private spectacle in the Circus. It is also said that he collected serpents with the aid of priests of the Marsic nation[3] and suddenly let them loose before dawn, when the populace usually assembled for the more frequented games, and many people were injured by their fangs as well as in the general panic. He would wear a tunic made wholly of cloth of gold, or one made of purple, or a Persian one studded with jewels, and at such times he would say that he felt oppressed by the weight of his pleasures. He even wore jewels on his shoes, sometimes engraved ones—a practice which aroused the derision of all, as if, forsooth, the engraving of famous artists could be seen on jewels attached to his feet. He wished to wear also a jewelled diadem in order that his beauty might be increased and his face look more like a woman's; and in his own house he did wear one. He promised a phoenix to some guests, it is said, or in lieu of the bird a thousand pounds of gold, and this sum he handed out in the imperial residence. He constructed swimming-pools filled with sea-water in places especially far from the coast, and would hand them over to individual friends who swam in them, or at

[3] An ancient people of central Italy living around the Lacus Fucinus or Lago di Celano (see note to *Hadr.*, xxii. 12), which has recently been drained. They were famous as snake-charmers; see Vergil, *Aeneid*, vii. 753-755; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 15; xxv. 30; Gellius, *Noct. Atticae*, xvi. 11.

singulis amicis natantibus dimisit et iterum cum
8 piscibus implevit. montem nivium in viridiario domus aestate fecit advectis nivibus. ad mare piscem numquam comedit, in longissimis a mari locis omnia marina semper exhibuit. murenarum lactibus et luporum in locis mediterraneis rusticos pavit.

XXIV. Pisces semper quasi in marina aqua cum colore suo coctos conditura veneta comedit. momentarias de rosato et rosis piscinas exhibuit et lavit[1] cum omnibus suis caldarias de nardo exhibens. idem in
2 lucernis balsamum exhibuit. idem mulieres numquam iteravit praeter uxorem. lupanaria domi amicis,
3 clientibus et servis exhibuit. idem numquam minus centum sestertiis cenavit, hoc est argenti libris triginta. aliquando autem tribus milibus sestertium cenavit, omnibus supputatis quae impendit. cenas
4 vero et Vitellii et Apicii vicit. pisces e vivariis[2] suis bubus traxit. per macellum transiens mendicitatem
5 publicam flevit. parasitos ad rotam aquariam ligabat et cum vertigine sub aquas mittebat rursusque in

[1] *lauit* Peter; *uiuit* P. [2] *ex uiuariis* Edit. princ.; *seuuariti* P.

[1] *Sestertium* is regularly used to denote the sum of 1000 sestertii. The evaluation of 100,000 *sestertii* = 30 lbs. silver, however, presents a difficult problem, for the biographer is not using the system in vogue under Elagabalus. According to Mommsen (*Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 316), he has confused the *sestertius* with the depreciated *denarius* of the time of Diocletian, of which 50,000 = 1 lb. gold, or approximately 3700 = 1 lb. silver. Seeck, on the other hand, who contends that the *Historia Augusta* was composed in the fifth century (see Intro. to Vol. ii. p. ix), pointed out (*Jahrbb.*, cxli. p. 629 f.) that in the time of Constantine (when this *vita* purports to have been written) 432,000 den. = 1 lb. gold, an evaluation which is, of course, incompatible with this passage.

another time he would fill one with fish. One summer he made a mountain of snow in the pleasure-garden attached to his house, having snow carried there for the purpose. When on the sea-coast he never ate fish, but in places most remote from the sea he regularly served all manner of sea-food, and the country-folk in the interior he fed with the milt of lampreys and pikes.

XXIV. The fish that he ate were cooked in a bluish sauce that preserved their natural colour, as though they were still in the sea-water. He supplied swimming-pools that he used for the moment with essence of roses and with the flowers themselves, and when he bathed with all his courtiers he would furnish oil of nard for the hot-rooms; he also furnished balsam-oil for the lamps. He never had intercourse with the same woman twice except with his wife, and he opened brothels in his house for his friends, his clients, and his slaves. He never spent less on a banquet than one hundred thousand sesterces, that is, thirty pounds of silver[1]; and sometimes he even spent as much as three million when all the cost was computed. In fact, he even outdid the banquets of Vitellius and Apicius.[2] He would take fish from his ponds by the ox-load, and then, as he passed through the market, bewail the public poverty. He used to bind his parasites to a water-wheel and, by a turn of the wheel, plunge them into the water and then bring them back to the surface again, calling

He argued, therefore, that the system here presupposed is that introduced in 445 by Valentinian III., according to which 1750 den. = 1 lb. silver, and that the half-denarius is meant here by the term *sestertius*.

[2] See c. xviii. 4.

summum revolvebat eosque Ixiones amnicos[1] vocavit.
6 stravit et saxis Lacedaemoniis ac Porphyreticis plateas
in Palatio, quas Antoninianas vocavit. quae saxa
usque ad nostram memoriam manserunt, sed nuper
7 eruta et exsecta sunt. constituerat et columnam
unam dare ingentem, ad quam ascenderetur intrin-
secus, ita ut in summo Heliogabalum deum collocaret,
sed tantum saxum non invenit, cum id de Thebaide
adferre cogitaret.

XXV. Ebrios amicos plerumque claudebat et subito nocte leones et leopardos et ursos exarmatos inmittebat, ita ut expergefacti in cubiculo eodem leones, ursos, pardos cum luce vel, quod est gravius, nocte
2 invenirent, ex quo plerique exanimati sunt. multis
vilioribus amicis folles pro accubitis sternebat eosque
reflabat prandentibus illis, ita ut plerumque subito
3 sub mensis invenirentur prandentes. primus denique
invenit sigma in terra sternere, non in lectulis, ut a
pedibus utres per pueros ad reflandum spiritum sol-
verentur.

4 In mimicis[2] adulteriis ea quae solent simulato fieri
5 effici ad verum iussit. meretrices a lenonibus cunctis
6 redemit saepe et manumisit. cum inter fabulas
privatas sermo esset ortus, quanti herniosi esse pos-
sent in urbe Roma, iussit omnes notari eosque ad

[1] So Hirschfeld, Peter[2]; *Ixionios amicos* P, Peter[1]. [2] *in mimicis* Scaliger, Peter; *inimicis* P.

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[1] A green porphyry—now called *serpentino*—quarried near Croceae, in southern Laconia and close to the modern village of Stephania. The red porphyry, brought from Egypt, was used in Rome in enormous quantities. The mosaic pavements made of these stones were afterwards called *opus Alexandrinum;* see *Alex.*, xxv. 7.

them meanwhile river-Ixions. He used Lacedaemonian stone [1] and porphyry to pave the open spaces in the Palace, which he called Antonine; this pavement lasted down to within our own memory but was lately torn up and destroyed. And he planned to erect a single column of enormous size, which could be ascended inside, and to place on its summit the god Elagabalus, but he could not find enough stone, even though he planned to bring it from the district of Thebes.[2]

XXV. When his friends became drunk he would often shut them up, and suddenly during the night let in his lions and leopards and bears—all of them harmless—so that his friends on awakening at dawn, or worse, during the night, would find lions and leopards and bears in the room with themselves [3]; and some even died from this cause. Some of his humbler friends he would seat on air-pillows instead of on cushions and let out the air while they were dining, so that often the diners were suddenly found under the table. Finally, he was the first to think of placing a semi-circular group on the ground instead of on couches, with the purpose of having the air-pillows loosened by slaves who stood at the feet of the guests and the air thus let out.

When adultery was represented on the stage, he would order what was usually done in pretence to be carried out in fact. He often purchased harlots from all the procurers and then set them free. Once during a private conversation the question arose as to how many ruptured people there were in the city of Rome, and he thereupon issued an order that all

[1] In upper Egypt. [2] Cf. c. xxi. 1.

balneas suas exhiberi[1] et cum iisdem lavit, nonnullis
7 etiam honestis. gladiatores ante convivium pugnantes vidit[2] et pyctas frequenter.[3] stravit sibi triclinium in summo lusorio et, dum pranderet, noxios et
9 venationes sibi exhibuit. parasitis in secunda mensa saepe ceream cenam, saepe ligneam, saepe eburneam, aliquando fictilem, nonnumquam vel marmoream vel lapideam exhibuit, ita ut omnia illis exhiberentur videnda de diversa materia quae ipse cenabat, cum tantum biberent per singula fercula et manus, quasi comedissent, lavarent.

XXVI. Primus Romanorum holoserica veste usus fertur, cum iam subsericae in usu essent. linteamen lotum numquam attigit, mendicos dicens qui linteis
2 lotis uterentur. dalmaticatus in publico post cenam saepe visus est, Gurgitem Fabium et Scipionem se appellans, quod cum ea veste esset, cum qua Fabius et Cornelius a parentibus ad corrigendos mores adulescentes in publicum essent producti.
3 Omnes de Circo, de theatro, de Stadio, et omnibus locis et balneis meretrices collegit in aedes publicas

[1] *exhiberi* Petschenig; *exhibere* P, Peter. [2] *uidit* Peter[2]; *sibi* P, Peter[1]. [3] *pyctas. frequenter strauit* Peter[2].

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[1] Also related of Lucius Verus; see *Ver.*, iv. 9.

[2] Cf. c. xxvii. 4-5.

[3] His fondness for silk clothing is also mentioned by Herodian, v. 5, 4. Its use was forbidden by later emperors; see *Alex.*, xl. 1; *Aurel.*, xlv. 4; *Tac.*, x. 4; *Codex Theodosianus*, xv. 9, 1.

[4] A mixture of silk and linen or cotton—ordinarily called *sericum*. Under Tiberius men were forbidden to wear it (Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 33, 1), but Caligula, nevertheless, appeared in public thus clad (Suetonius, *Cal.*, lii.). Elagabalus gave garments of this sort as presents; see c. xxix. 6.

should be noted and brought to his baths, and then he bathed with them, some of them being men of distinction. Before a banquet he would frequently watch gladiatorial fights and boxing matches, and he had a couch spread for himself in an upper gallery and during luncheon exhibited criminals in a wild-beast hunt.[1] His parasites would often be served during dessert with food made of wax or wood or ivory, sometimes of earthenware, or at times even of marble or stone; so that all that he ate himself would be served to them too, but different in substance and only to be looked at,[2] and all the while they would merely drink with each course and wash their hands, just as if they had really eaten.

XXVI. He was the first of the Romans, it is said, who wore clothing wholly of silk,[3] although garments partly of silk[4] were in use before his time. Linen that had been washed he would never touch, saying that washed linen was worn only by beggars. He would often appear in public after dinner dressed in a Dalmatian tunic,[5] and then he would call himself Fabius Gurges[6] or Scipio, because he was wearing the same kind of clothing which Fabius and Cornelius wore when in their youth they were brought out in public by their parents in order to improve their manners.

He gathered together in a public building all the harlots from the Circus, the theatre, the Stadium and

[5] See note to *Com.*, viii. 8.

[6] Presumably he meant Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, consul 292, 276, 265 B.C. No such incident, however, as that described in the text is known, nor can the Scipio be identified. The *Dalmaticus* was not in use in the republican period, but long-sleeved tunics were worn, though generally considered effeminate; see Gellius, *Noct. Atticae*, vi. (vii.) 12.

et apud eas contionem habuit quasi militarem, dicens eas conmilitones, disputavitque de generibus schema-
4 tum et voluptatum. adhibuit in tali contione postea lenones, exsoletos undique collectos et luxuriosissimos
5 puerulos et iuvenes. et cum ad meretrices muliebri ornatu processisset papilla eiecta, ad [1] exsoletos habitu puerorum qui prostituuntur. post contionem pronuntiavit iis quasi militibus ternos aureos donativum petiitque ab iis ut a dis peterent ut alios haberent ipsi [2] commendandos.

6 Iocabatur sane ita cum servis ut eos iuberet millena pondo sibi aranearum deferre proposito praemio, collegisseque dicitur decem milia pondo aranearum, dicens et hinc intellegendum quam magna esset
7 Roma. mittebat parasitis pro cellario salarii annui [3] vasa cum ranis et scorpiis et cum serpentibus et
8 huiusmodi monstris. claudebat in eiuscemodi vasis infinitum muscarum, apes mansuetas eas appellans.

XXVII. Quadrigas circensium in tricliniis et in porticibus sibi semper exhibuit pransitans et cenitans, convivas senes agitare cogens, nonnullos honoratos.
2 iam imperator iubebat sibi et decem milia murium
3 exhiberi, mille mustelas, mille sorices. dulciarios et lactarios tales habuit, ut quaecumque coqui de diversis edulibus exhibuissent vel structores vel pomarii, illi

[1] *ad* om. in P. [2] *haberent ipsi* Petschenig; *haberet ipsis* P, Peter. [3] *cellario salarii annua* Salm., Peter; *cellarios salarii annua* P.

all other places of amusement, and from the public baths, and then delivered a speech to them, as one might to soldiers, calling them "comrades" and discoursing upon various kinds of postures and debaucheries. Afterward he invited to a similar gathering procurers, catamites collected together from all sides, and lascivious boys and young men. And whereas he had appeared before the harlots in a woman's costume and with protruding bosom, he met the catamites in the garb of a boy who is exposed for prostitution. After his speech he announced a largess of three aurei for each, just as if they were soldiers, and asked them to pray the gods that they might find others to recommend to him.

He used, too, to play jokes on his slaves, even ordering them to bring him a thousand pounds of spiders-webs and offering them a prize; and he collected, it is said, ten thousand pounds, and then remarked that one could realize from that how great a city was Rome. He also used to send to his parasites jars of frogs, scorpions, snakes, and other such reptiles, as their yearly allowance of provisions, and he would shut up a vast number of flies in jars of this sort and call them tamed bees.

XXVII. He often brought four-horse chariots from the Circus into his banqueting-rooms or porticoes while he lunched or dined, compelling his guests to drive, even though they were old men and some of them had held public office. Even when emperor, he would give an order to bring in to him ten thousand mice, a thousand weasels, or a thousand shrew-mice. So skilful were his confectioners and dairymen, that all the various kinds of food that were served by his cooks, either meat-cooks or fruit-cooks,

4 modo de dulciis modo de lactariis exhiberent. exhibuit parasitis cenas et de vitreis et nonnumquam tot picta mantelia in mensam mittebat, iis edulibus picta quae adponerentur, quot missus esset habiturus, ita
5 ut de acu aut de textili pictura exhiberentur. nonnumquam tamen et tabulae illis pictae exhibebantur, ita ut quasi omnia illis exhiberentur et tamen fame
6 macerarentur. miscuit gemmas pomis ac floribus. iecit et per fenestram cibos totidem quot exhibuit
7 amicis. iusserat et canonem populi Romani unius anni meretricibus, lenonibus, exsoletis intramuranis dari, extramuranis alio promisso, cum eo tempore iuxta provisionem Severi et Traiani septem annorum canon frumentarius Romae esset.

XXVIII. Canes quaternos ingentes iunxit ad currum et sic est vectatus intra domum regiam idemque[1]
2 privatus in agris suis fecit. processit in publicum et quattuor cervis iunctis ingentibus. iunxit sibi et leones, Matrem magnam se appellans. iunxit et tigres, Liberum sese vocans eodemque habitu agens
3 quo dii pinguntur quos imitabatur. Aegyptios dracunculos Romae habuit, quos illi agathodaemonas vocant. habuit et hippopotamos et crocodillum et rhinocerotem et omnia Aegyptia, quae per naturam sui exhiberi

[1] *idemque* Peter; *idque* P.

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[1] See *Sev.*, viii. 5.

[2] Apparently the sacred healing snake of the god Knuphis (Chnum), often represented, sometimes with a lion's head, on gems and amulets.

they also would serve up, making them now out of confectionery or again out of milk-products. His parasites he would serve with dinners made of glass, and at times he would send to their table only embroidered napkins with pictures of the viands that were set before himself, as many in number as the courses which he was to have, so that they were served only with representations made by the needle or the loom. Sometimes, however, paintings too were displayed to them, so that they were served with the whole dinner, as it were, but were all the while tormented by hunger. He would also mix jewels with apples and flowers, and he would throw out of the window quite as much food as he served to his friends. He gave an order, too, that an amount of public grain equal to one year's tribute should be given to all the harlots, procurers, and catamites who were within the walls, and promised an equal amount to those without, for, thanks to the foresight of Severus and Trajan, there was in Rome at that time a store of grain equal to seven years' tribute.[1]

XXVIII. He would harness four huge dogs to a chariot and drive about within the royal residence, and he did the same thing, before he was made emperor, on his country-estates. He even appeared in public driving four stags of vast size. Once he harnessed lions to his chariot and called himself the Great Mother, and on another occasion, tigers, and called himself Dionysus ; and he always appeared in the particular garb in which the deity that he was representing was usually depicted. He kept at Rome tiny Egyptian snakes, called by the natives "good genii,"[2] besides hippopotami, a crocodile, and a rhinoceros, and, in fact, everything Egyptian which was of such a kind that it could be supplied. And

poterant. struthocamelos exhibuit in cenis aliquotiens, dicens praeceptum Iudaeis ut ederent. Illud sane mirum videtur quod dicitur ab eo factum, ut de croco sigma straverit, cum summos viros rogasset ad prandium, pro eorum dignitate se dicens faenum exhibere.[1] transegit et dierum actus noctibus et nocturnos diebus, aestimans hoc inter instrumenta luxuriae, ita ut sero de somno surgeret et salutari inciperet, mane autem dormire inceptaret. amicos admisit[1] cottidie nec quemquam facile indonatum relinquebat, nisi quem frugi quasi perditum repperisset.

XXIX. Habuit gemmata vehicula et aurata contemptis argentatis et eboratis et aeratis.[2] iunxit et quaternas mulieres pulcherrimas et binas ad pabillum vel ternas et amplius et sic vectatus est, sed plerumque nudus, cum illum nudae traherent. Habuit et hanc consuetudinem, ut octo calvos rogaret ad cenam et item octo luscos et item octo podagrosos, octo surdos, octo nigros, octo longos et octo pingues, cum capi non possent uno sigmate, ut de his omnibus risus citaret. donavit et argentum omne convivis quod habuit in convivio et omnem apparatum poculorum, idque saepius. hydrogarum

[1] *amicos* <*admisit*> *cottidie* Golisch; *amicos cottidie* P; *amicis cottidie* <*aliquid dabat*> Cas., Peter.

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[1] *i.e.* likening them to oxen; cf. the saying *faenum edere*, cited by Cicero, *de Orat.* ii. 233.

[2] Those ornamented with ivory or bronze were in common use; see *Aurel.*, xlvi. 3. Alexander permitted the use of silver; see *Alex.*, xliii. 1.

[3] *Garum* was a preparation made from the entrails of fish, particularly the mackerel, which were salted down and allowed to ferment. The liquid thus formed was called *garum*.

sometimes at his banquets he served ostriches, saying that the Jews had been commanded to eat them.

It seems indeed a surprising thing that he is said to have done when he invited men of the highest rank to a luncheon and covered a semi-circular couch with saffron-flowers, and then said that he was providing them with the kind of hay [1] that their rank demanded. The occupations of the day he performed at night, and those of the night in the daytime, and he considered it a mark of luxury to wait until a late hour before rising from sleep and beginning to hold his levee, and also to remain awake until morning. He received his courtiers every day, and he seldom let any go without a gift, save those whom he found to be thrifty, for he regarded these as worthless.

XXIX. His chariots were made of jewels and gold, for he scorned those that were merely of silver or ivory or bronze.[2] He would harness women of the greatest beauty to a wheel-barrow in fours, in twos, or in threes or even more, and would drive them about, usually naked himself, as were also the women who were pulling him.

He had the custom, moreover, of asking to a dinner eight bald men, or else eight one-eyed men, or eight men who suffered from gout, or eight deaf men, or eight men of dark complexion, or eight tall men, or, again, eight fat men, his purpose being, in the case of these last, since they could not be accommodated on one couch, to call forth general laughter. He would present to his guests all the silver-plate that he had in the banqueting-room and all the supply of goblets, and he did it very often too. He was the first Roman emperor to serve at a public banquet fish-pickle [3] mixed with water, for previously this had

Romanorum ducum primus publice exhibuit, cum antea militaris mensa esset, quam postea statim
6 Alexander reddidit. proponebat praeterea iis quai, themata, ut iura nova dapibus condiendis invenirent, et cuius placuisset commentum, ei dabat maximum praemium, ita ut sericam vestem donaret, quae tunc
7 et in raritate videbatur et in honore. si ius[1] autem displicuisset, iubebat ut semper id comesset, quamdiu
8 tamen melius inveniret. semper sane aut inter flores
9 sedit aut inter odores pretiosos. amabat sibi pretia[2] maiora dici earum rerum quae mensae parabanturs orexin convivio hanc esse adserens.

XXX. Pinxit se ut cuppedinarium, ut seplasiarium, ut popinarium, ut tabernarium, ut lenonem, idque
2 totum domi semper et exercuit. sescentorum struthionum capita una cena multis mensis exhibuit ad
3 edenda cerebella. exhibuit aliquando et tale convivium ut haberet viginti et duo fercula ingentium epularum, sed per singula lavarent et mulieribus uterentur et ipse et amici cum iure iurando quod
4 efficerent voluptatem. celebravit item tale convivium ut apud amicos singulos singuli missus appararentur, et, cum alter maneret in Capitolio, alter in Palatio, alter super Aggerem, alter in Caelio, alter trans Tiberim, et ut quisque mansisset, tamen per ordinem in eorum domibus singula fercula ederentur, ireturque
5 ad omnium domos. sic unum convivium vix toto die

[1] *si ius* Salm., Peter; *sicus* P. [2] *pretia rerum* P.

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[1] The *Agger Tarquinii Superbi* was that portion of the so-called "Wall of Servius Tullius" (probably a work of the early republican period) which protected Rome on the east, running over the level tops of the Quirinal and Esquiline Hills; see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, iii. 67.

been only a soldier's dish—a usage which later was promptly restored by Alexander. He would propose to his guests, furthermore, by way of a feat, that they should invent new sauces for giving flavour to the food, and he would offer a very large prize for the man whose invention should please him, even presenting him with a silk garment—then regarded as a rarity and a mark of honour. On the other hand, if the sauce did not please him, the inventor was ordered to continue eating it until he invented a better one. Of course he always sat among flowers or perfumes of great value, and he loved to hear the prices of the food served at his table exaggerated, asserting it was an appetizer for the banquet.

XXX. He got himself up as a confectioner, a perfumer, a cook, a shop-keeper, or a procurer, and he even practised all these occupations in his own house continually. At one dinner where there were many tables he brought in the heads of six hundred ostriches in order that the brains might be eaten. Occasionally he gave a banquet in which he would serve twenty-two courses of extraordinary viands, and between each course he and his guests would bathe and dally with women, all taking an oath that they were deriving enjoyment. And once he gave a banquet in which one course was served in the house of each guest, and although one lived on the Capitoline Hill, one on the Palatine, one beyond the Rampart,[1] one on the Caelian Hill, and one across the Tiber, nevertheless each course was served in order in one of the houses, and they went about to the homes of all. It was difficult, therefore, to finish the banquet within a whole day, especially as between the courses they bathed and dallied with women.

finitum est, cum et lavarent per singula fercula et
6 mulieribus uterentur. Sybariticum missum semper
exhibuit ex oleo et garo, quem quo anno Sybaritae
7 reppererunt, et perierunt. dicitur et balneas fecisse
multis locis ac semel lavisse atque statim destruxisse,
ne ex usu balneas haberet. hoc idem de domibus, de
8 praetoriis, de diaetis[1] fecisse dicitur. sed et haec et
alia[2] nonnulla fidem transeuntia credo esse ficta ab iis
qui in gratiam Alexandri Heliogabalum deformare
voluerunt.

XXXI. Fertur et meretricem notissimam et pulcherrimam redemisse centum sestertiis eamque intactam
2 velut virginem coluisse. huic eidem privato cum
quidam diceret "Non times pauper fieri?" dixisse
dicitur "Quid melius, quam ut ipse mihi heres sim
3 et uxori meae?" habuerat praeterea facultates a
multis dimissas gratia patris. idem filios se nolle
4 dicebat, ne quis ei frugi contingeret. odores Indicos
sine carbonibus ad vaporandas diaetas[3] iubebat incendi.
iter[4] privatus numquam minus sexaginta vehiculis fecit,
avia sua Varia reclamante quod omnia perditurus esset.
5 imperator vero etiam sescenta vehicula dicitur duxisse,
adserens decem milibus camelorum Persarum regem
iter facere et Neronem quingentis carrucis iter inisse.
6 causa vehiculorum erat lenonum, lenarum, meretricum,

[1] *diaetis* Lessing; *setis* P; *zaetis* Peter. [2] *et alia* ins. by Cas. and Peter; om. in P. [3] *diaetas* Lessing; *zetas* P; *zaetas* Peter. [4] *in* P.

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[1] 510 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* Julia Maesa; see note to *Macr.*, ix. 1.

[3] According to Suetonius, *Nero*, xxx. 3, never with fewer than a thousand.

He always served a course of Sybariticum, consisting of oil and fish-pickle, which the men of Sybaris invented in the year in which they all perished.[1] It is further related of him that he constructed baths in many places, bathed in them once, and immediately demolished them, merely in order that he might not derive any advantage from them. And he is said to have done the same with houses, imperial headquarters, and summer-dwellings. However, these and some other things which surpass credence, I believe to have been fabricated by those who wished to vilify Elagabalus in order to curry favour with Alexander.

XXXI. He purchased, it is said, a very famous and very beautiful harlot for one hundred thousand sesterces, and then kept her untouched, as though she were a virgin. When some one asked him before he was made emperor, "Are you not afraid of becoming poor?" he replied, so they say, "What could be better than that I should be my own heir and my wife's too?" He had abundant means besides, bequeathed to him by many out of regard for his father. Furthermore, he said that he did not wish to have sons, lest one of them should chance to be thrifty. He would have perfumes from India burned without any coals in order that the fumes might fill his apartments. Even while a commoner he never made a journey with fewer than sixty wagons, though his grandmother Varia[2] used to protest that he would squander all his substance; but after he became emperor he would take with him, it is said, as many as six hundred, asserting that the king of the Persians travelled with ten thousand camels and Nero with five hundred carriages.[3] The reason for all these vehicles was the vast number of his procurers and

exsoletorum, subactorum etiam bene vasatorum multi-
7 tudo. in balneis semper cum mulieribus fuit, ita ut
eas ipse psilothro curaret, ipse quoque barbam psi-
lothro accurans, quodque pudendum dictu sit, eodem
quo mulieres accurabantur[1] et eadem hora. rasit et
virilia subactoribus suis ad novaculam[2] manu sua, qua
8 postea barbam fecit. scobe auri porticum stravit et
argenti, dolens quod non posset et electri, idque fre-
quenter, quacumque fecit iter pedibus usque ad equum
vel carpentum, ut fit hodie de aurosa arena.

XXXII. Calciamentum numquam iteravit, anulos
etiam negatur iterasse. pretiosas vestes saepe con-
scidit. balaenam[3] cepit et adpendit atque ad eius
2 aestimationem ponderis pisces amicis exhibuit. naves
onustas mersit in portum, magnanimitatis hoc esse
dicens. onus ventris auro excepit, in murrinis et
3 onychis minxit. idem dixisse fertur, "Si habuero
heredem, dabo illi tutorem, qui illum haec facere cogat
4 quae ipse feci facturusque sum." habuit etiam istam
consuetudinem, ut cenas sibi exhiberet tales ut una die
nonnisi de[4] phasianis totum ederet omnesque missus
sola phasianorum carne strueret, item alia die de
pullis, alia de pisce illo et item illo, alia de porcis,
alia de struthionibus, alia de oleribus, alia de pomis,
5 alia de dulciis, alia de opere lactario. saepe amicos

[1] So P; *accurabantur* <*loco*> Cas., Peter. [2] *nouaculam* Gruter, von Winterfeld; *nouaclum* P, Peter. [3] So Madvig; *conscidit uel lanam* P; † *uel lanam* Peter[2]. [4] *de* om. in P.

[1] The allusion is obscure; the custom seems to be analogous to that of Caligula and Nero, who had the sand of the Circus sprinkled with chrysocolla, a silicate of copper, in order to give it a greenish colour; see Suetonius, *Calig.*, xviii. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxiii. 90.

[2] See note to *Pert.*, xii. 6.

bawds, harlots, catamites and lusty partners in depravity. In the public baths he always bathed with the women, and he even treated them himself with a depilatory ointment, which he applied also to his own beard, and shameful though it be to say it, in the same place where the women were treated and at the same hour. He shaved his minions' groins, using the razor with his own hand—with which he would then shave his beard. He would strew gold and silver dust about a portico and then lament that he could not strew the dust of amber also; and he did this often when he proceeded on foot to his horse or his carriage, as they do today with golden sand.[1]

XXXII. He never put on the same shoes twice and never, it is said, wore the same ring a second time. He often tore up costly garments. Once he took a whale and weighed it and then sent his friends its weight in fish. He sank some heavily laden ships in the harbour and then said that this was a sign of greatness of soul. He used vessels of gold for relieving himself and his urinals were made of murra or onyx. And he is said to have remarked: "If I ever have an heir, I shall appoint a guardian for him, to make him do what I have myself done and intend to do". He was accustomed, furthermore, to have dinners served to him of the following kind: one day he would eat nothing at all but pheasant,[2] serving only pheasant-meat at every course; another day he would serve only chicken, another some kind of fish and again a a different kind, again pork, or ostrich, or greens, or fruit, or sweets, or dairy-products. He would often shut up his friends in halting-places for the night with old hags from Ethiopia and compel them to stay

suos cum Aethiopibus aniculis inclusit nocturnis
mansionibus et usque ad lucem detinuit, cum pulcher-
6 rimas his diceret apparatas. fecit hoc idem etiam de
pueris, et tunc, ante Philippum utpote, licebat.
7 ridebat autem sic nonnumquam, ut publice in theatro
8 solus audiretur. ipse cantavit, saltavit, ad tibias
dixit, tuba cecinit, pandurizavit, organo modulatus est.
9 fertur et una die ad omnes Circi et theatri et Amphi-
theatri et omnium urbis locorum meretrices tectus
cucullione mulionico, ne agnosceretur, ingressus, cum
tamen omnibus meretricibus sine effectu libidinis
aureos donaret, addens, "Nemo sciat, Antoninus
XXXIII. haec donat." libidinum genera quaedam invenit, ut
spinthrias veterum malorum vinceret, et omnis ap-
paratus Tiberii et Caligulae et Neronis norat.
2 Et praedictum eidem erat a sacerdotibus Syris bio-
3 thanatum se futurum. paraverat igitur funes blatta
et serico et cocco intortos, quibus, si necesse esset,
4 laqueo vitam finiret. paraverat et gladios aureos,
5 quibus se occideret, si aliqua vis urgueret. paraverat
et in cerauniis et hyacinthis et in smaragdis venena,
quibus se interimeret, si quid gravius inmineret.
6 fecerat et altissimam turrem substratis aureis gem-
matisque ante se tabulis, ex qua se praecipitaret,
dicens etiam mortem suam pretiosam esse debere et
ad speciem luxuriae, ut diceretur nemo sic perisse.
7 sed nihil ista valuerunt. nam, ut diximus, et occisus

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[1] The Emperor Philippus Arabs. His prohibition of this vice is also recorded in *Alex.*, xxiv. 4, and Victor, *Caes.*, xxviii. 6.

[2] A musical instrument with three strings, probably resembling the lute. The name has been perpetuated in a modern Italian instrument of the mandoline type.

[3] See Suetonius, *Tib.*, xliii. 1, and Tacitus, *Annals*, vi. 1.

there until morning, saying that the most beautiful women were kept in these places. He did this same thing with boys too—for then, before the time of Philip [1] that is, such a thing was lawful. Sometimes he laughed so loud in the theatre that no one else could be heard by the audience. He could sing and dance, play the pipes, the horn and the pandura,[2] and he also performed on the organ. On one single day, it is said, he visited every prostitute from the Circus, the theatre, the Amphitheatre, and all the public places of Rome, covering his head with a muleteer's cap in order to escape recognition ; he did not, however, gratify his passions, but merely gave an aureus to each prostitute, saying as he did so : " Let no one know it, but this is a present from Antoninus ". XXXIII. He invented certain new kinds of vice, even going beyond the perverts used by the debauchees of old, and he was well acquainted with all the arrangements of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero.[3]

The prophecy had been made to him by some Syrian priests that he would die a violent death. And so he had prepared cords entwined with purple and scarlet silk, in order that, if need arose, he could put an end to his life by the noose. He had gold swords, too, in readiness, with which to stab himself, should any violence impend. He also had poisons ready, in ceraunites and sapphires and emeralds, with which to kill himself if destruction threatened. And he also built a very high tower from which to throw himself down, constructed of boards gilded and jewelled in his own presence, for even his death, he declared, should be costly and marked by luxury, in order that it might be said that no one had ever died in this fashion. But all these preparations availed him

est per scurras et per plateas tractus et sordidissime per cloacas ductus et in Tiberim submissus est.

8 Hic finis Antoninorum nomini in re publica fuit, scientibus cunctis istum Antoninum tam vita falsum fuisse quam nomine.

XXXIV. Mirum fortasse cuipiam videatur, Constantine venerabilis, quod haec clades, quam rettuli, loco principum fuerit, et quidem prope triennio ; ita nemo in re publica[1] tum fuit qui istum a gubernaculis Romanae maiestatis abduceret, cum Neroni, Vitellio, Caligulae ceterisque huiusmodi numquam tyrannicida
2 defuerit. sed primum omnium ipse veniam peto, quod haec, quae apud diversos repperi, litteris tradidi, cum multa improba reticuerim et quae ne dici quidem
3 sine maximo pudore possunt. ea vero, quae dixi, praetextu verborum adhibito, quantum potui texi.
4 deinde illud quod Clementia tua solet dicere credidi esse respiciendum[2] "Imperatorem esse fortunae est."
5 nam et minus boni reges fuerunt et pessimi. agendum vero quod Pietas tua solet dicere, ut sint imperio digni quos ad regendi necessitatem vis fatalis ad-
6 duxerit. et quoniam hic ultimus Antoninorum fuit, neque postea hoc nomen in re publica loco principum frequentatum est, etiam illud addendum est, ne quis error oriatur, cum duos Gordianos narrare coepero,

[1] So Bernhardy and Peter; *nemo uir eȳ* P. [2] So Lectius and Peter; *credidisse reficiendum* P.

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[1] See c. xvii. 1-3.

[2] Nero committed suicide, Vitellius was killed by the soldiers of Vespasian, and Caligula was assassinated by a tribune of the praetorian guard.

nothing, for, as we have said,[1] he was slain by common soldiers, dragged through the streets, contemptuously thrust into sewers, and finally cast into the Tiber.

He was the last of those in public life to bear the name Antoninus, and all knew that in the case of this Antoninus his life was as false as his name.

XXXIV. It may perhaps seem strange to some, revered Constantine, that such a scourge as I have described should ever have sat on the throne of the emperors, and, moreover, for nearly three years. Such was the lack at that time in the state of any who could remove him from the government of Rome's majesty, whereas a deliverer from the tyrant had not been wanting in the case of Nero, Vitellius, Caligula,[2] and other such emperors. But first of all I ask for pardon for having set down in writing what I have found in various authors, even though I have passed over in silence many vile details and those things which may not even be spoken of without the greatest shame. But whatever I have told, I have covered up as best I could by the use of veiled terms. Then too I have always believed that we must remember what Your Clemency is wont to say: "It is Fortune that makes a man emperor". There have indeed been unrighteous rulers and even very base ones. But, as Your Piety is wont to declare, men must look to it that those be worthy of the imperial office whom the power of Fate has called to the destiny of being emperor. Furthermore, since this man was the last of the Antonines and never again did one of this name appear in public life as emperor, the following fact must also be mentioned, in order that no confusion may arise when I shall begin to tell of the two Gordians, father and son, who desired to be called

patrem et filium, qui se de Antoninorum genere dici volebant: non nomen in illis primum fuit sed prae-
7 nomen. deinde, ut in plerisque libris invenio, Antonii dicti sunt, non Antonini.

XXXV. Haec sunt de Heliogabalo, cuius vitam me invitum et retractantem ex Graecis Latinisque collectam scribere ac tibi offerre voluisti, cum iam
2 aliorum ante tulerimus. scribere autem ordiar qui post sequentur. quorum Alexander optimus et cum cura dicendus est, annorum tredecim princeps, semestres alii et vix annui et bimi, Aurelianus praecipuus et horum omnium decus auctor tui generis
3 Claudius. de quo vereor ad Clementiam tuam scribens vera dicere, ne malivolis adulator videar esse, sed absolvar contra livorem improborum, cum et apud alios
4 clarum esse perspexerim. his iungendi sunt Diocletianus, aurei parens saeculi, et Maximianus, ut vulgo
5 dicitur, ferrei, ceterique ad Pietatem tuam. te vero, Auguste venerabilis, multis paginis iisdemque disertioribus illi prosequentur, quibus id felicior natura de-
6 tulerit. his addendi sunt Licinius[1] atque Maxentius, quorum omnium ius[2] in dicionem tuam venit, sed ita

[1] *Licinius Seuerus Alexander* P; *S.A.* del. by Mommsen and Peter. [2] *uis* P.

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[1] See *Gord.*, iv. 7 and note.

[2] See *Claud.*, ix. 9 and note.

[3] Apparently an allusion to his character as a rough soldier and in contrast with his colleague Diocletian, of whom Victor (*Caes.*, xxxix. 8) says: "Eoque ipso, quod dominum dici passus, parentem egit."

[4] Maxentius was defeated by Constantine at the Pons

after the family of the Antonines: in the first place, they had not the surname but only the praenomen of the Antonines; in the second, as I find in many books, their name was Antonius, and not Antoninus.[1]

XXXV. So much concerning Elagabalus, the details of whose life you have wished me, though unwilling and reluctant, to gather together from Greek and Latin books and to set down in writing and present to you, inasmuch as I have already presented the lives of earlier emperors. Now I shall begin to write of emperors who followed after. Of these the most righteous and the most worthy of careful narration was Alexander (who was emperor for thirteen years, whereas the others ruled for but six months or at most for one or two years), the most distinguished was Aurelian, but the glory of them all was Claudius, the founder of your family.[2] About this man I fear to tell the truth in writing to Your Clemency, lest I may seem to the malicious to be a flatterer; but yet I shall be delivered from the envy of evil men, inasmuch as I have seen that in the eyes of others also he was most illustrious. To these rulers must be joined Diocletian, father of the golden age, and Maximian, father of the iron,[3] as they commonly say, and all the others down to the time of Your Piety. But as for you, O revered Augustus, you shall receive honour in the many and more eloquent pages of those to whom a more kindly nature has granted this boon. To these emperors we must add Licinius and Maxentius, all whose power has been made subject to your sway,[4] writing of them, however, in such a way

Mulvius near Rome in 312, Licinius near Chalcedon in Bithynia in 324.

7 ut nihil de [1] eorum virtute derogetur. non enim ego id faciam quod plerique scriptores solent, ut de iis detraham qui victi sunt, cum intellegam gloriae tuae accedere, si omnia de illis, quae bona in se habuerint, vera praedicaro.

[1] *de* om. in P.

that full justice shall be done to their prowess. For I will not, as is the wont of many writers, detract from the greatness of those who have been vanquished, since I perceive that if, in writing of them, I shall tell the whole truth concerning the noble qualities which they possessed, it will but enhance your glory.

ALEXANDER SEVERUS

AELII LAMPRIDII

I. Interfecto Vario Heliogabalo—sic enim malumus dicere quam Antoninum, quia et nihil Antoni-
2 norum pestis illa ostendit et hoc nomen ex annalibus senatus auctoritate erasum est—ad remedium generis humani Aurelius Alexander, urbe Arcena genitus, Varii filius, Variae nepos et consobrinus ipsius Heliogabali, accepit imperium, cum ante Caesar a senatu
3 esset appellatus, mortuo scilicet Macrino; Augustumque nomen idem recepit, addito eo ut et patris patriae nomen et ius proconsulare et tribuniciam potestatem et ius quintae relationis deferente senatu uno die adsumeret.
4 Et ne praeceps ista honorum continuatio videatur, exponam causas, quibus id et senatus coactus est facere

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[1] See *Heliog.*, xvii. 4 and note.

[2] On his name see note to *Heliog.*, v. 1.

[3] Arca Caesarea or Caesarea ad Libanum in Syria, on the western slope of the Lebanon range, a short distance N.E. of the modern city of Tripoli.

[4] His father's name was Gessius Marcianus. Varius Marcellus was the father of Elagabalus.

[5] *i.e.* Julia Maesa, erroneously called Varia in these biographies; see note to *Macr.*, ix. 1.

[6] This statement is incorrect; see note to *Heliog.*, v. 1.

[7] See *Pius*, iv. 7 and note.

SEVERUS ALEXANDER

BY

AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS

I. After the murder of Varius Elagabalus—for thus we prefer to call him rather than Antoninus, for, plague that he was, he showed none of the traits of the Antonines, and his name Antoninus, furthermore, was expunged from the public records by order of the senate[1]—for the curing of the human race the imperial power passed to Aurelius Alexander.[2] He was born in the city of Arca[3] and he was the son of Varius,[4] the grandson of Varia,[5] and the cousin of Elagabalus himself. The name of Caesar had been bestowed on him by the senate previously, that is, after the death of Macrinus[6]; now he was given the name of Augustus, and it was further granted him by the senate that on the same day he should take the title of Father of his Country, the proconsular command, the tribunician power,[7] and the privilege of making five proposals to the House.[8]

Now lest this quick succession of honours may seem precipitate,[9] I will set forth the reasons which

[8] See note to *Marc.*, vi. 6.

[9] The title of *Pater Patriae*, particularly, had not been assumed by earlier constitutional emperors until some time after their accession to power; see *Hadr.*, vi. 4; *Pius*, vi. 6.

5 et ille perpeti. non enim aut gravitati senatus congruebat omnia simul deferre aut bono principi raptum
6 ire tot simul dignitates. milites iam insueverant sibi imperatores et tumultuario iudicio facere et item facile mutare, adferentes nonnumquam ad defensionem se idcirco fecisse quod nescissent senatum principem
7 appellasse. nam et Pescennium Nigrum et Clodium Albinum et Avidium Cassium et antea Lucium Vindicem et L. Antonium,[1] et ipsum Severum, cum senatus iam Iulianum dixisset principem, imperatores fecerant, atque ista res bella civilia severat, quibus necesse fuit militem contra hostem paratum parricida-
II. liter perire. hac igitur causa festinatum est ut omnia simul Alexander quasi iam vetus imperator acciperet.
2 huc accessit nimia et senatus et populi inclinatio post illam cladem, quae non solum Antoninorum nomen decoloravit set etiam Romanum dehonestavit
3 imperium. certatim denique omnia decreta sunt et
4 nominum genera et potestatum. primus denique omnium cuncta insignia et honorificentiae genera simul recepit, suffragante sibimet Caesaris nomine, quod iam ante aliquot annos meruerat, et magis suffragante vita et moribus, cum illi magnum conciliasset favorem, quod Heliogabalus occidere conatus est nec

[1] *Antoninum* P.

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[1] On Vindex and Antonius Saturninus see notes to *Pesc. Nig.*, ix. 2.
[2] See *Sev.*, v. 1.
[3] On his popularity see *Heliog.*, xiii. 3 and note.

moved the senate to grant and the Emperor to accept them. For it befitted neither the senate's dignity to bestow all of them together, nor yet a good prince to seize upon so many honours at one time. But the soldiers had now grown accustomed to appoint their own emperors, often in a disorderly fashion, and also to change them at will, sometimes alleging in their own defence that they had taken action only because they did not know that the senate had named a ruler. For they had chosen as emperors Pescennius Niger, Clodius Albinus, Avidius Cassius, and, in earlier years, Lucius Vindex and Lucius Antonius[1]; and they had chosen even Severus too, after the senate had already named Julianus as prince.[2] And thus were sown the seeds of civil wars, in which it necessarily happened that soldiers enlisted to fight against a foreign foe fell at the hands of their brothers. II. For this reason, then, the senate hastened to bestow all these honours on Alexander at the same time, as though he had long been emperor. To this, moreover, must be added the great desire of the senate and people for Alexander,[3] now that they had been delivered from that scourge who had not only sullied the name of the Antonines but brought shame upon the Roman Empire. Indeed, they vied with one another in bestowing on him all manner of titles and powers. He, then, was the first of all the emperors to receive at one time all insignia and all forms of honour, commended to them, as he was, by the name of Caesar, earned some years previously, but commended still more by his life and morals. He had won great favour, too, from the fact that Elagabalus had tried to slay him, but without success because of the resistance of the soldiers

potuit et militibus repugnantibus et senatu refragante.
5 atque haec parva sunt, nisi quod dignum se exhibuit quem senatus servaret, quem salvum milites cuperent, quem omnium bonorum sententia principem diceret.

III. Alexander igitur, cui Mamaea mater fuit (nam et ita dicitur a plerisque), a prima pueritia artibus bonis imbutus tam civilibus quam militaribus ne unum quidem diem sponte sua transire passus est quo se
2 non et ad litteras et ad militiam exerceret. nam in prima pueritia litteratores habuit Valerium Cordum et Titum Veturium et Aurelium Philippum libertum
3 patris, qui vitam eius postea in litteras misit, grammaticum in patria Graecum Nehonem, rhetorem Serapionem, philosophum Stilionem, Romae grammaticos Scaurinum Scaurini filium, doctorem celeberrimum, rhetores Iulium Frontinum et Baebium Macrianum et Iulium Granianum, cuius hodieque
4 declamatae[1] feruntur. sed in Latinis non multum profecit, ut ex eiusdem orationibus apparet, quas in[2] senatu habuit, vel ex[3] contionibus, quas apud milites vel apud populum. nec valde amavit Latinam facundiam sed amavit litteratos homines vehementer, eos etiam reformidans, ne quid de se asperum
5 scriberent. denique quos dignos ad id esse[4] videbat, singula quaeque, quae publice et privatim agebat, se

[1] *orationes declamatae* P corr. [2] *in* om. in P. [3] *ex* om. in P. [4] *eos digno adesce* P.

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[1] See *Heliog.*, xiii. 4 f.

[2] So he is called Alexander Mamaeae in c. v. 2; *Aurel.*, xlii. 4; *Car.*, iii. 4. The appellation "son of Mamaea" was, of course, not official, but it is significant as denoting his entire subjection to his mother; see note to c. xiv. 7.

[3] Nothing is known of any of these.

and the opposition of the senate.[1] All these considerations, however, would have availed him little, had he not shown himself worthy that the senate should honour him, that the soldiers should be eager for his preservation, and the voice of all good citizens name him their prince.

III. Alexander, then, the son of Mamaea (for so he is called by many [2]), had been nurtured from his earliest boyhood in all excellent arts, civil and military. Not a single day, indeed, did he allow to pass in which he did not train himself for literature and for military service. His teachers were [3]: during his early childhood, Valerius Cordus, Titus Veturius, and Aurelius Philippus (his father's freedman who afterwards wrote his life); while he lived in his native town, the Greek grammarian, Neho, the rhetorician Serapio, and the philosopher Stilio; and when he was at Rome, the grammarian Scaurinus (the son of Scaurinus [4] and a most famous teacher), and the rhetoricians Julius Frontinus, Baebius Macrianus, and Julius Granianus, whose exercises in rhetoric are in use today. In Latin literature, however, he was not very proficient, as is shown by the orations which he delivered in the senate, and also by the speeches which he made before the soldiers or the people. And indeed he did not greatly value the power to speak in Latin, although he was very fond of men of letters, fearing them at the same time, lest they might write something harsh about him. Indeed, it was his wish that those whom he found worthy of the privilege should be informed of all

[4] Probably the Terentius Scaurinus who was the teacher of Lucius Verus; see *Ver.*, ii. 5.

ipso docente volebat addiscere, si forte ipsi non adfuissent, eaque petebat ut, si vera essent, in litteras mitterent.

IV. Dominum se appellari vetuit. epistulas ad se quasi ad privatum scribi iussit servato tantum nomine
2 imperatoris. gemmas de calciamentis et vestibus tulit, quibus usus fuerat Heliogabalus. veste, ut et pingitur, alba usus est nec aurata, paenulis togisque
3 communibus. cum amicis tam familiariter vixit ut communis esset ei saepe consessus, iret ad convivia eorum, aliquos autem haberet cotidianos etiam non vocatos, salutaretur vero quasi unus e senatoribus patente velo admissionalibus remotis aut solis iis qui ministri ad fores fuerant, cum antea[1] salutare principem non liceret, quod eos videre non poterat.
4 Et erat eius corporis ut praeter venustatem ac virilem,[2] quem hodieque et in pictura et in statuis videmus, decorem[3] ei inesset staturae militaris robur, militis valetudo eius qui vim sui corporis sciret ac
5 semper curaret. erat praeterea cunctis hominibus amabilis et ab aliis Pius appellabatur, ab omnibus
6 certe sanctus et utilis rei publicae. huic sors in

[1] *cum antea* ins. by Egnatius; om. in P; lacuna assumed by Peter. [2] *ac uirilem* Eyssenhardt, Peter[2]; *aculem* P. [3] *decorem ei inesset* Peter[2]; *decureum esse* P.

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[1] *Dominus* was the title by which the emperor was usually addressed. Its use had been discouraged by the early emperors, notably by Augustus and Tiberius; see Suetonius, *Aug.*, liii.; *Tib.*, xxvii.; Dio, lvii. 8. It was adopted by Domitian and was regularly in use after his time.

that he did, both officially and in his private life, and he even gave them information himself if they chanced to be absent at the time, begging them that if it were true, they should include it in their books.

IV. He forbade men to call him *Lord*,[1] and he gave orders that people should write to him as they would to a commoner, retaining only the title *Imperator*. He removed from the imperial footwear and garments all the jewels that had been used by Elagabalus,[2] and he wore a plain white robe without any gold, just as he is always depicted, and ordinary cloaks and togas. He associated with his friends[3] on such familiar terms that he would sit with them as equals, attend their banquets, have some of them as his own daily guests, even when they were not formally summoned, and hold a morning levee like any senator with open curtains and without the presence of ushers, or, at least, with none but those who acted as attendants at the doors, whereas previously it was not possible for people to pay their respects to the emperor for the reason that he could not see them.

As to his physique, in addition to the grace and the manly beauty still to be seen in his portraits and statues, he had the strength and height of a soldier and the vigour of the military man who knows the power of his body and always maintains it. Besides this, he endeared himself to all men; some even called him Pius, but all regarded him as a holy man and one of great value to the state. And when Elagabalus was plotting against him, he received in

[2] See *Heliog.*, xxiii. 3-4.
[3] See note to *Heliog.*, xi. 2.

templo Praenestinae talis exstitit, cum illi Heliogabalus insidiaretur:

Si qua fata aspera rumpas,
tu Marcellus eris.

V. Alexandri nomen accepit quod in templo dicato apud Arcenam urbem Alexandro Magno natus esset, cum casu illuc die festo Alexandri cum uxore pater isset[1] 2 sollemnitatis implendae causa. cui rei argumentum est quod eadem die natalem habet hic Mamaeae 3 Alexander qua ille Magnus excessit e vita. delatum sibi Antonini nomen a senatu recusavit, cum[2] hic magis adfinitate Caracallo[3] iungeretur, quam ille subditivus; 4 si quidem, ut Marius Maximus dixit in Vita Severi, nobilem orientis mulierem Severus, cuius hanc geniturам esse compererat ut uxor imperatoris esset, adhuc privatus et non magni satis loci, duxit uxorem. ex qua adfinitate hic Alexander fuit, cui vere per matrem suam consobrinus Varius Heliogabalus fuit. 5 recusavit et Magni nomen ei quasi Alexandro oblatum[4] senatus iudicio.

VI. Interest relegere orationem, qua nomen

[1] *pater isset* Petschenig, Peter[2]; *patris* P. [2] *cum* om. in P. [3] *Caracallo* Lessing, Petschenig; *Caracalli* P, Peter. [4] *est oblatum* P; *est* del. by Gruter and Peter.

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[1] Fortuna Primigenia, whose temple at Praeneste (mod. Palestrina) in Latium was famous for its oracle. Its responses were issued on *sortes*, *i.e.* pieces of wood on which utterances were inscribed.

[2] *Aeneid*, vi. 882-883, addressed to Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus.

[3] Undoubtedly a fiction, invented because of his name.

[4] His birthday was 1st October, 208; see the Calendar of

the temple of the Praenestine Goddess [1] the following oracle:

"If ever thou breakest the Fates' cruel power,
Thou a Marcellus shalt be." [2]

V. He was given the name Alexander because he was born in a temple dedicated to Alexander the Great [3] in the city of Arca, whither his father and mother had chanced to go on the feast-day of Alexander for the purpose of attending the sacred festival. The proof of this is the fact that this Alexander, the son of Mamaea, celebrated as his birthday that very day on which Alexander the Great departed this life.[4] The name Antoninus was proffered him by the senate, but he refused it, although he was connected with Caracalla by a closer degree of kinship than the spurious Antoninus.[5] For, as Marius Maximus narrates in his Life of Severus, Severus, at that time only a commoner and a man of no great position, married a noble-woman from the East, whose horoscope, he learned, declared that she should be the wife of an emperor [6]; and she was a kinswoman of Alexander, to whom Varius Elagabalus, as a matter of fact, was a cousin on his mother's side. He refused also the title of "the Great," which, because he was an Alexander, was offered to him by vote of the senate.

VI. It will not be without interest to re-read the

Philocalus, *C.I.L.*, i², p. 274. Alexander the Great, on the other hand, died in June.

[5] This statement is incorrect, for the mothers of Alexander and Elagabalus were sisters, the daughters of Julia Maesa and hence first cousins of Caracalla.

[6] *i.e.*, Julia Domna; see *Sev.*, iii. 9.

Antonini et Magni delatum sibi a senatu recusavit. quam priusquam praeferam innectam[1] adclamationes
2 senatus, quibus id decretum est. ex actis urbis: A. d. pridie nonas Martias, cum senatus frequens in curiam, hoc est in Aedem Concordiae templumque inauguratum, convenisset, rogatusque esset Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus ut eo veniret,[2] ac primo recusasset, quod sciret de honoribus suis agendum,
3 deinde postea venisset, adclamatum: "Auguste innocens, di te servent. Alexander imperator, di te servent. di te nobis dederunt, di conservent. di te ex manibus
4 impuri eripuerunt, di te perpetuent. impurum tyrannum et tu perpessus es, impurum et obscenum et tu vivere doluisti. di illum eradicarunt, di te servarunt.
5 infamis imperator rite damnatus. felices nos imperio tuo, felicem rem publicam. infamis unco tractus est ad exemplum timoris. luxuriosus imperator iure punitus est, contaminator honorum iure punitus est. di immortales Alexandro vitam. iudicia deorum hinc
VII. apparent." et cum egisset gratias Alexander, adclamatum est: "Antonine Alexander, di te servent.

[1] *innectam* Kellerbauer, Peter[2]; *etiam* P. [2] *ut eo ueniret* Peter; *ut concineret* P.

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[1] For similar acclamations see c. lvi. 9-10; *Avid. Cass.*, xiii. 1-5; *Com.*, xviii.-xix.; *Maxim.*, xvi. 3-7; xxvi.; *Gord.*, xi. 9-10; *Max.-Balb.*, ii. 9-12. Their genuineness is very doubtful.

[2] See note to *Com.*, xv. 4.

[3] The correctness of this date is open to question, for the best evidence points to the 11th March as the day of the murder of Elagabalus; see O. F. Butler, *Studies in the Life of Hel.* (1910), p. 105 f.

[4] See note to *Pert.*, iv. 9.

oration in which Alexander refused the names of Antoninus and "the Great," which were offered him by the senate. But before I quote it, I will insert the acclamations of the senate,[1] by which these names were decreed. Extract from the City Gazette[2]; On the day before the Nones of March,[3] when the senate met in full session in the Senate-Chamber (that is, in the Temple of Concord,[4] a formally consecrated sanctuary), and when Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus had been requested to proceed thither and, after at first refusing for the reason that he knew that action was to be taken with regard to his titles, had finally appeared before the senate, the following acclamations were uttered: "Augustus, free from all guilt, may the gods keep you! Alexander, our Emperor, may the gods keep you! The gods have given you to us, may the gods preserve you! The gods have rescued you from the hands of the foul man, may the gods preserve you forever! You too have endured the foul tyrant, you too had reason to grieve that the filthy and foul one lived. The gods have cast him forth root and branch, and you have they saved. The infamous emperor has been duly condemned. Happy are we in your rule, happy too is the state. The infamous emperor has been dragged with the hook,[5] as an example of what men should fear; justly punished is the voluptuous emperor, punished justly he who defiled the public honours. May the gods in Heaven grant long life to Alexander! Thus are the judgments of the gods revealed." VII. And when Alexander had expressed his thanks the acclamations arose again: "Antoninus Alexander, may

6 Mar., 222

[5] See *Heliog.*, xvii. 1-6.

Antonine Aureli, di te servent. Antonine Pie, di te
2 servent. Antonini nomen suscipias rogamus. praesta
bonis imperatoribus ut Antoninus dicaris. nomen
Antoninorum tu purifica. quod ille infamavit tu
purifica. redde in integrum nomen Antoninorum.
3 sanguis Antoninorum se cognoscat. iniuriam Marci tu
vindica. iniuriam Veri tu vindica. iniuriam Bassiani
4 tu vindica. peior Commodo solus Heliogabalus, nec
imperator nec Antoninus nec civis nec senator nec
5 nobilis nec Romanus. in te salus, in te vita. ut
vivere delectet, Antoninorum Alexandro vitam. ut
vivere delectet,[1] Antoninus vocetur. Antoninorum
templa Antoninus dedicet. Parthos et Persas An-
6 toninus vincat. sacrum nomen sacratus accipiat.
sacrum nomen castus accipiat. Antonini nomen di[2]
cognoscant, Antoninorum honorem di conservent.
in te omnia, per te omnia. Antonine, aveas."

VIII. Et post adclamationes Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus: "Gratias vobis, patres conscripti, non nunc primum sed et de Caesareano nomine et de vita servata et Augusti nomine addito et de pontificatu maximo et de tribunicia potestate et proconsulari imperio, quae omnia novo exemplo uno die in me
2 contulistis." et cum diceret, adclamatum: "Haec

[1] *delectet et* P. [2] *di* Jordan, Peter; *ut* P.

the gods keep you! Aurelius Antoninus, may the gods keep you! Antoninus Pius, may the gods keep you! Receive the name Antoninus, we beseech you. Grant to our righteous emperors this boon, that you should be called Antoninus. Purify the name of the Antonines. Purify what he has defiled. Restore to its former glory the name of the Antonines. Let the blood of the Antonines know itself once more. Avenge the wrongs of Marcus. Avenge the the wrongs of Verus. Avenge the wrongs of Bassianus. Worse than Commodus is Elagabalus alone. No emperor he, nor Antoninus, nor citizen, nor senator, nor man of noble blood, nor Roman. In you is our salvation, in you our life. That we may have joy in living, long life to Alexander of the house of the Antonines! That we may have joy in living, let him be called Antoninus. The temples of the Antonines let an Antoninus consecrate. The Parthians and the Persians let an Antoninus vanquish. The sacred name let the consecrated receive. The sacred name let the pure receive. May the gods remember the name of Antoninus, may the gods preserve the honours of the Antonines! In you are all things, through you are all things. Hail, O Antoninus!"

VIII. After these acclamations Aurelius Alexander Caesar Augustus spoke: "I thank you, O Conscript Fathers, and not now for the first time, both for the name of Caesar and for the life that has been spared to me, and also because you have bestowed on me the name of Augustus, the office of Pontifex Maximus, the tribunician power, and the proconsular command, all of which you have conferred on me without precedent on a single day." And when he

3 suscepisti, Antonini nomen suscipe. mereatur senatus, Antonini mereantur. Antonine Auguste, di te servent, di te Antoninum conservent. monetae nomen Antonini reddatur. templa Antoninorum Antoninus consecret."

4 Aurelius Alexander Augustus: "Ne quaeso, patres conscripti, ne me ad hanc certaminis necessitatem vocetis, ut ego cogar tanto nomini satis facere, cum etiam hoc ipsum nomen licet peregrinum tamen
5 gravare videatur. haec enim nomina insignia onerosa sunt. quis enim Ciceronem diceret mutum? quis indoctum Varronem? quis impium Metellum? et, ut hoc di avertant, quis non aequantem nomina ferat
IX. degentem[1] in clarissima specie dignitatum?" item adclamata quae supra. item imperator dixit: "Antoninorum nomen[2] vel iam numen potius quantum[3] fuerit, meminit vestra Clementia. si pietatem, quid Pio sanctius? si doctrinam, quid Marco prudentius? si innocentiam, quid Vero simplicius? si fortitudinem,
2 quid Bassiano fortius? nam Commodi meminisse nolo, qui hoc ipso[4] deterior fuit quod cum illis moribus
3 Antonini nomen obtinuit. Diadumenus autem nec tempus habuit nec aetatem et patris arte hoc nomen

[1] *degentem* Gruter, Peter; *digerentem* P. [2] *nomen* om. in P. [3] *quantum* Baehrens, Peter[2]; *quam* P. [4] *si hoc ipse* P.

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[1] M. Terentius Varro (116-127 B.C.), a writer of great learning and versatility. He wrote 74 different works in about 620 books, of which only the *Res Rusticae* and a part of the *de Lingua Latina* are extant.

[2] Q. Caecilius Metellus, surnamed Pius because of his efforts to have his father Metellus Numidicus recalled from the banishment into which he had been driven in 100 B.C. as the result of his opposition to Marius and his party.

had spoken, they cried out: "These honours you have accepted, now accept also the name Antoninus. Let the senate be deemed worthy of this boon, let the Antonines be deemed worthy. Antoninus Augustus, may the gods keep you, may the gods preserve you as Antoninus! Let the name of Antoninus appear again on our coins. Let an Antoninus consecrate the temples of the Antonines."

Then Aurelius Alexander Augustus spoke again: "Do not, I beseech you, O Conscript Fathers, do not force upon me the necessity of so difficult a task, that I should be constrained to do justice to so great a name, when even this very name which I now bear, albeit a foreign one, seems to weigh heavily upon me. For all illustrious names are burdensome indeed. Who, pray, would give the name of Cicero to one who was dumb, or Varro[1] to one who was unlearned, or Metellus[2] to one who was undutiful? And who would endure—though this may the gods forfend!—that the man who failed to live up to the tradition of his name should continue to dwell amid the most illustrious forms of honour?" IX. Again the same acclamations as above. Again the Emperor spoke: "How great was the name, or rather the divinity, of the Antonines, Your Clemency remembers well. If you think of righteousness, who was more holy than Pius? If of learning, who more wise than Marcus? If of innocence, who more honest than Verus? If of bravery, who more brave than Bassianus? For on Commodus I have no wish to dwell, who was the more depraved for this very reason, that with those evil ways of his he still held the name of Antoninus. Diadumenianus, moreover, had neither the time nor the years, and it was only through his father's

4 incurrit." item adclamatum ut supra. item imperator dixit: "Nuper certe, patres conscripti, meministis, cum ille omnium non solum bipedum sed etiam quadrupedum spurcissimus Antonini nomen praeferret et in turpitudine atque luxuria Nerones, Vitellios, Commodos vinceret, qui gemitus omnium fuerit, cum per populi et honestorum coronas una vox esset, hunc impie[1] Antoninum dici, per hanc pestem tantum[2]
5 violari nomen." et cum diceret, adclamatum est: "Di mala prohibeant. haec te imperante non timemus. de his te duce securi sumus. vicisti vitia, vi-
6 cisti crimina, vicisti dedecora. Antonini nomen ornabis. id certe scimus,[3] bene praesumimus. nos te et a pueritia probavimus et nunc probamus."
7 item imperator: "Neque ego, patres conscripti, idcirco timeo istud venerabile omnibus nomen accipere, quod verear in haec vitia delabatur vita, ut[4] nos nominis pudeat, sed primum displicet alienae familiae nomen adsumere, deinde quod gravari me credo."
X. et cum diceret, adclamatum est ut supra. item
2 dixit: "Si enim Antonini nomen accipio, possum et
3 Traiani, possum et Titi, possum et Vespasiani." et cum diceret, adclamatum est: "Quomodo Augustus, sic et Antoninus." et imperator: "Video, patres

[1] *inpie* Petschenig; *inte* P; *inepte* Peter. [2] *tantum* P corr.; *tactum* P[1]; *sanctum* Salm., Peter. [3] *ornabis. id certe scimus* Baehrens, Petschenig; *ornauisti. certe sumus* P; *ornabis. certe praesumimus* Peter. [4] *ut* Peter; *aut* P.

[1] See *Macr.*, v. 1; vi. 6; *Diad.* i-ii.

artifice that he seized upon this name."[1] Again the same acclamations as above. Again the Emperor spoke: "Surely, not long ago, O Conscript Fathers, when that filthiest of all creatures, both two-footed and four-footed, vaunted the name of Antoninus, and in baseness and debauchery outdid a Nero, a Vitellius, and a Commodus, you remember what groanings arose from all, and how in the gatherings of the populace and of all honourable men there was but a single cry—that he was unworthy to bear the name of Antoninus, and that by such a plague as he that great name was profaned." When he had spoken, there were again acclamations: "May the gods avert such evils! We fear them not with you as our emperor. We are safe from them with you as our leader. You have triumphed over vice, you have triumphed over crime, you have triumphed over dishonour. You will add lustre to the name of Antoninus. We foresee it surely, we foresee it clearly. From your childhood on we have esteemed you, now too we esteem you." Again the Emperor: "It is not that I shrink, O Conscript Fathers, from accepting this revered name merely because I fear that my life may fall into vices which will cause me to feel shame for the name; but I do not desire to take a name which, in the first place, belongs to a house that is no kin to me, and, in the second, I feel assured, will weigh heavily upon me." X. And when he had spoken, there were acclamations as before. Again he spoke: "If indeed I take the name of Antoninus, I may take also the name of Trajan, the name of Titus, and the name of Vespasian." And when he had spoken, there were acclamations: "As you are now Augustus, so also be Antoninus." Again the

conscripti, quod vos moveat[1] ad hoc nobis nomen
4 addendum. Augustus primus primus est huius auctor
imperii, et in eius nomen[2] omnes velut quadam adop-
5 tione aut iure hereditario succedimus. Antonini ipsi
Augusti dicti sunt. Antoninus item primus[3] Marcum et
item Verum iure adoptionis vocavit, Commodi autem
hereditarium fuit, susceptum Diadumeno, adfectatum
6 in Bassiano, ridiculum in Aurelio." et cum diceret,
adclamatum est: "Alexander Auguste, di te servent.
di immortales faveant[4] verecundiae tuae, prudentiae
tuae, innocentiae tuae, castitati tuae. hinc intelle-
7 gimus qualis futurus sis, hinc probamus. tu facies
ut senatus bene principes eligat. tu facies optimum
esse iudicium senatus. Alexander Auguste, di te
servent. templa Antoninorum Alexander Augustus
8 dedicet. Caesar noster, Augustus noster, imperator
noster, di te servent. vincas, valeas, multis annis
XI. imperes." Alexander imperator dixit: "Intellego,
patres conscripti, me obtinuisse quod volui et in ac-
ceptum refero, plurimas gratias[5] et agens et habens,
enisurus ut et hoc nomen, quod in imperium detulimus,
tale sit, ut et ab aliis desideretur et bonis vestrae
pietatis iudiciis offeratur."

2 Post haec adclamatum est: "Magne Alexander, di
te servent. si Antonini nomen repudiasti, Magni

[1] *moueat* om. in P. [2] *nomen* om. in P. [3] *primus* Peter; *saepius* P. [4] *di . . . faueant* Flor. Cusanum (see Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 301); om. by P and Peter. [5] *plurimas gratias sed* P corr.; *plurimas sed* P[1]; *plurimas et* Peter.

Emperor: "I see, O Conscript Fathers, what impels you to bestow upon us this name also. The first Augustus was the first founder of this Empire, and to his name we all succeed, either by some form of adoption or by hereditary claim. Even the Antonines themselves bore the name of Augustus. Likewise the first Antoninus gave his name to Marcus and also to Verus by a process of adoption, while in the case of Commodus it was inherited, in Diadumenianus assumed, in Bassianus simulated, but in Aurelius it would be a mockery." And when he had spoken, there were acclamations: "Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! May the gods in Heaven look with favour upon your modesty, your wisdom, your integrity, your purity! Hence we can see what an emperor you will be, and hence we esteem you. You will be a proof that the senate can choose its rulers with wisdom. You will be a proof that the choice of the senate is the best of all. Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! Let Alexander Augustus consecrate the temples of the Antonines. Our Caesar, our Augustus, our emperor, may the gods keep you! May you be victorious, may you prosper, and may you rule for many years!" XI. Alexander the Emperor spoke: "I perceive, O Conscript Fathers, that I have obtained my desire, and I count it as gain, feeling and expressing the deepest gratitude. And I will endeavour to make the name which I bring to this office so famous that it will be coveted by future emperors and be bestowed upon the righteous in testimony of your loyalty." Thereupon there were acclamations: "O Great Alexander, may the gods keep you! If you have rejected the surname Antoninus, accept then the praenomen of

praenomen suscipe. Magne Alexander, di te servent."
3 et cum saepius dicerent, Alexander Augustus: "Facilius fuit, patres conscripti, ut Antoninorum nomen acciperem, aliquid enim vel adfinitati deferrem
4 vel consortioni nominis imperialis. Magni vero nomen cur accipiam[1]? quid enim iam magnum feci? cum id Alexander post magna gesta, Pompeius vero
5 post magnos triumphos acceperit. quiescite igitur, venerandi patres, et vos ipsi magnifici unum me de vobis esse censete, quam Magni nomen ingerite."
XII. post haec adclamatum est: "Aureli Alexander Auguste, di te servent" et reliqua ex more.
2 Dimisso senatu, cum et alia multa eo die essent
3 acta, quasi triumphans domum se recepit. multo clarior visus est alienis nominibus non receptis quam si recepisset, atque ex eo constantiae ac plenae gravitatis famam obtinuit, si quidem uni viro[2] vel adulescenti potius senatus totus persuadere non potuit.
4 sed quamvis senatu rogante non potuerit persuaderi, ut vel Antonini vel Magni nomina susciperet, tamen ob ingentem vigorem animi et mirandam singularemque constantiam contra militum insolentiam
5 Severi nomen a militibus eidem inditum est. quod

[1] *accipiam* Peter; *accepi* P. [2] *uiro* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] In fanciful allusion to Alexander the Great.

[2] This explanation of the assumption of the name Severus by Alexander (repeated in c. xxv. 2) is wholly incorrect. He took the name in order to emphasize his connexion with Septimius Severus, as Elagabalus had assumed the name M. Aurelius Antoninus in order to connect himself more closely with Caracalla. The explanation given here is based on the general fondness of these biographers for punning on

'the Great.'[1] O Great Alexander, may the gods keep you!" And when they had cried this out many times, Alexander Augustus spoke: "It would be easier, O Conscript Fathers, to take the name of the Antonines, for in so doing I should make some concession either to kinship or to a joint possession in that imperial name. But why should I accept the name of 'the Great'? What great thing have I done? Alexander, indeed, received it after great achievements, and Pompey after great triumphs. Be silent then, O revered Fathers, and do you in your greatness hold me as one of yourselves rather than force upon me the use of the name of 'the Great.'" XII. Thereupon they cried out: "Aurelius Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you!" and all the rest in the usual manner.

When the senate had adjourned after the transaction of much other business on that same day, the Emperor returned home in the manner of one celebrating a triumph. For he seemed much more illustrious for refusing to receive names which did not belong to him than if he had received them, and he obtained from his refusal a reputation for steadfastness and mature dignity, since, though but one single man, or rather youth, he could not be moved by the persuasions of the entire senate. Nevertheless, although the entreaties of the senate could not persuade him to take the name of either Antoninus or "the Great," the troops conferred on him the name Severus[2] on account of his great strength of spirit and his marvellous and matchless fortitude in the face of the soldiers' insolence. This won him

the names of the emperors; see *Pert.*, i. 1; *Sev.*, xiv. 13; *Macr.*, xi. 2.

illi ingentem in praesentia reverentiam, magnam apud posteros gloriam peperit, cum eo accessisset ut de animi virtute nomen acceperit, si quidem solus inventus sit, qui tumultuantes legiones exauctoraverit, ut suo loco ostendetur, in milites autem gravissime animadverterit, qui forte incurrerunt[1] aliquid quod[2] videretur iniustum, ut et ipsum locis suis declarabimus.

XIII. Omina imperii haec habuit: primum quod ea die natus est qua defunctus vita Magnus Alexander dicitur, deinde quod in templo eius mater enixa est, tertio quod ipsius nomen accepit, tum praeterea quod ovum purpurei coloris eadem die natum qua ille natus est palumbinum anicula quaedam matri eius obtulit; ex quo quidem haruspices dixerunt imperatorem quidem illum, sed non diu futurum et cito ad imperium
2 perventurum. tum praeterea, quod tabula Traiani imperatoris, quae geniali lecto patris inminebat, dum
3 ille in templo pareretur, in lectum eius decidit. his accessit quod nutrix ei Olympias data est, quo nomine
4 mater Alexandri appellata est. nutritor Philippus provenit casu unus ex rusticis, quod nomen patri
5 Alexandri Magni fuit. fertur die prima natalis toto

[1] *currerent* P. [2] *quod* om. in P.

[1] Alexander seems to have been unable to control the soldiers, and there was a succession of mutinies during his reign; see c. lii. 3; liii. 3; lix. 4, and the final mutiny which led to his murder (see note to c. lix. 1). Another mutiny in Mesopotamia is recorded by Dio (lxxx. 4) and a mutiny of the praetorian guard led to the murder of Ulpian; see c. li. 4.

[2] Alexander's strictness in discipline is a favourite topic of the biographer; see c. xxv. 2; l. 1; li. 6; lii.-liv.; lix. 5; lxiv. 3. It is even assigned as the cause of his assassination (c. lix. 6) but wholly incorrectly; see note to c. lix. 1.

profound respect in his own time, and great renown among later generations, especially since it came to pass further that he was given this name on account of his courageous spirit; for he is the only one of whom it is known that he dismissed mutinous legions, as I shall tell at the proper place,[1] and, moreover, inflicted the harshest punishments on soldiers who chanced to commit any deed which could seem unlawful, as we shall also relate in its own place.[2]

XIII. The omens that predicted his rule were as follows: First, he was born on the anniversary of that day on which, it is said, Alexander the Great departed this life; secondly, his mother bore him in a temple dedicated to Alexander; and thirdly, he was called by Alexander's name. Furthermore, a dove's egg of purple hue,[3] laid the very day he was born, was presented to his mother by an old woman; and from this the soothsayers prophesied that he would indeed be emperor, but not for long, and that he would speedily succeed to the imperial power. Furthermore, a picture of the Emperor Trajan, which hung over his father's marriage-bed, fell down upon the bed at the time that Alexander was born in the temple. We must add, moreover, that a woman named Olympias acted as his nurse—this was also the name of the mother of Alexander the Great—and it happened by chance that he was reared by a certain peasant named Philip—which was the name of Alexander's father.[4] It is said that on the day

In general, there is no reason to believe that he was a severe disciplinarian, and this quality seems to be attributed to him as part of the tendency of the biography to eulogize him.

[3] For a similar portent see *Geta*, iii. 2.

[4] These statements seem wholly fanciful.

die apud Arcam Caesaream stella primae magnitudinis visa et sol circa domum patris eius fulgido ambitu
6 coronatus. cum eius natalem haruspices commendarent, dixerunt eum summam rerum tenturum, idcirco quod hostiae de ea villa quae esset Severi imperatoris adductae essent, et quas in illius honorem
7 coloni parassent. nata in domo laurus iuxta persici arborem intra unum annum persici arborem vicit. unde etiam coniectores dixerunt Persas ab eo esse
XIV. vincendos. mater eius pridie quam pareret somniavit
2 se purpureum dracunculum parere. pater eadem nocte in somniis vidit alis se Romanae Victoriae, quae
3 in senatu, ad caelum vehi. ipse cum vatem consuleret de futuris, hos accepisse dicitur versus adhuc par-
4 vulus; et primum quidem sortibus

Te manet imperium caeli terraeque

intellectum est quod inter divos etiam referretur,[1]

Te manet imperium quod tenet imperium.

ex quo intellectum est Romani illum imperii principem futurum. nam ubi est imperium nisi apud Romanos quod tenet imperium? et haec quidem de Graecis
5 versibus sunt prodita. ipse autem, cum parentis hortatu animum a philosophia musicaque ad[2] alias artes

[1] *referretur* Jordan, Peter[1]; *referetur* P, Peter[2]. [2] *musicaque* <*ad*> Jordan, Peter[2]; *et musica quae* P.

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[1] The native city of his father; see c. i. 2 and note.

[2] The peach (*malus Persica*) was brought to Italy from Persia or Transcaucasia in the first century after Christ.

after his birth a star of the first magnitude was visible for the entire day at Arca Caesarea,[1] and also that in the neighbourhood of his father's house the sun was encircled with a gleaming ring. And the soothsayers, when they commended his birthday to the favour of the gods, declared that he would some day hold the supreme power, because some sacrificial victims were brought in from a farm of the Emperor Severus, which the tenants had made ready in order to do honour to the Emperor. Also, a laurel sprang up in his house close to a peach-tree, and within a single year it outgrew the peach, and from this the soothsayers predicted that he was destined to conquer the Persians.[2] XIV. The night before he was born his mother dreamed that she brought forth a purple snake, and on the same night his father saw himself in a dream carried to the sky on the wings of the Victory of Rome which is in the Senate-Chamber. And when Alexander himself consulted a prophet about his future, being still a small child, he received, it is said, the following verses, and first of all, by the oracle

"Thee doth empire await on earth and in Heaven"

it was understood that he was even to have a place among the deified emperors; then came

"Thee doth empire await which rules an empire"

by which it was understood that he should become ruler of the Roman Empire; for where, save at Rome, is there an imperial power that rules an empire? This same story, too, is related with regard to some Greek verses. Moreover, when at his mother's bidding he turned his attention from philosophy and music to

traduceret, Vergilii sortibus huiusmodi inlustratus est:

> Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
> credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
> orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
> describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent;
> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
> hae tibi erunt artes pacisque imponere morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

6 fuerunt multa alia signa, quibus principem humani generis esse constaret.

Nimius ardor oculorum et diutius intuentibus gravis, divinatio mentis frequentissima, rerum memoria singularis, quam mnemonico Acholius ferebat adiutam. 7 et cum puer ad imperium pervenisset, fecit cuncta cum matre, ut et illa videretur pariter imperare, mulier sancta sed avara et auri atque argenti cupida.

XV. Ubi ergo Augustum agere coepit, primum removit omnes iudices a re publica et a ministeriis atque

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[1] *Aeneid*, vi. 848-854.

[2] Cited also in c. xlviii. 7; lxiv. 5. In *Aurel.*, xii. 4, he is said to have been the *magister admissionum* of Valerian. Nothing else is known of him, and it is not improbable that he and Encolpius (c. xvii. 1; xlviii. 7) are inventions of the biographer.

[3] Alexander was 13 years old at his accession and the government was carried on entirely by Mamaea after the death of Julia Maesa in 226; see *Herodian*, vi. 1, 1-5. She was clever enough to conceal the weak and indolent character of her son by providing him with excellent advisers, notably Ulpian, and attributing to him all the reforms instituted by them.

[4] Her greed is attested by Herodian (vi. 1, 8). It brought the reign of Alexander into great disrepute and was one of the

other pursuits, he seemed to be alluded to in the following verses from the Vergil-oracle [1]:

"Others, indeed, shall fashion more gracefully life-breathing bronzes,
Well I believe it, and call from the marble faces more lifelike,
Others more skilfully plead in the court-room and measure out closely
Pathways through Heaven above and tell of the stars in their risings;
Thou, O Roman, remember to rule all the nations with power.
These arts ever be thine: The precepts of peace to inculcate,
Those that are proud to cast down from their seats, to the humbled show mercy."

There were many other portents, too, which made it clear that he was to be the ruler of all mankind.

His eyes were very brilliant and hard to look at for a long time. He was very often able to read thoughts and he had an exceptional memory for facts—though Acholius [2] used to maintain that he was aided by a mnemonic device. After he succeeded to the imperial power, while still a boy, he used to do everything in conjunction with his mother, so that she seemed to have an equal share in the rule,[3] a woman greatly revered, but covetous and greedy for gold and silver.[4]

XV. When he began to play the part of emperor, his first act was to remove from their official posts and

causes of his downfall. Alexander's own tendency for amassing wealth is alluded to in c. xliv. 2 and lxiv. 3.

muneribus, quos impurus ille ex genere hominum turpissimo provexerat; deinde senatum et equestrem
2 ordinem purgavit. ipsas deinde tribus et eos qui militaribus nituntur praerogativis purgavit et Palatium suum comitatumque omnem abiectis ex aulico ministerio cunctis obscenis et infamibus; nec quemquam passus est esse in Palatinis nisi [1] necessarium
3 hominem. iure iurando deinde se constrinxit ne quem adscriptum, id est vacantivum, haberet, ne annonis rem publicam gravaret, dicens malum publicum [2] esse imperatorem, qui ex visceribus provincialium homines non necessarios nec rei publicae utiles pas-
4 ceret. fures iudices [3] iussit in civitatibus ullis numquam videri et si essent visi deportari per rectores provinci-
5 arum. annonam militum diligenter inspexit. tribunos, qui per [4] stellaturas militibus aliquid tulissent, capitali
6 poena adfecit. negotia et causas prius a scriniorum principibus et doctissimis iuris peritis et sibi fidelibus, quorum primus tunc Ulpianus fuit, tractari ordinarique atque ita referri ad se praecepit.

XVI. Leges de iure populi et fisci moderatas et infinitas sanxit neque ullam constitutionem sacravit

[1] *nisi* om. in P[1]. [2] *publicum* Cas., Jordan; *pupillum* P; *populi uillicum* Salm., Peter. [3] *iudices* Editor (see c. xvii. 1-2); *iudicare* P, Peter; *iudicata re* von Winterfeld, Walter. [4] *per* om. in P.

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[1] *i.e.* the thirty-five tribes made up of the free citizens.

[2] Legionary soldiers received full citizenship when honourably discharged from the service.

[3] See note to *Pesc. Nig.*, iii. 8.

[4] This body was the *consilium principis*, further described in c. xvi. 1-2. Some of its members are enumerated in c. lxviii. 1. It included, besides Ulpian, his fellow-prefect,

duties and from all connexion with the government all those judges whom that filthy creature had raised from the lowest class. Next, he purified the senate and the equestrian order; then he purified the tribes [1] and the lists of those whose positions depended on the privileges accorded to soldiers,[2] and the Palace, too, and all his own suite, dismissing from service at the court all the depraved and those of ill-repute. And he permitted none save those who were needed to remain in the retinue of the Palace. Then he bound himself by an oath that he would not retain any supernumeraries, that is, any holders of sinecures, his purpose being to relieve the state of the burden of their rations; for he characterized as a public evil an emperor who fed on the vitals of the provincials any men neither necessary nor useful to the commonwealth. He issued orders that judges guilty of theft should never appear in any city, and that if they did, they should be banished by the ruler of the province. He gave careful attention to the rationing of the troops, and he inflicted capital punishment on tribunes who gave any privileges to soldiers in return for tithes of their rations.[3] He issued instructions that the chiefs of the bureaus and those jurists who were most learned and most loyal to himself,[4] of whom the foremost at that time was Ulpian,[5] should examine and arrange in order all state-business and all law-suits, and then submit them to himself.

XVI. The respective rights of the people and the privy-purse he provided for in innumerable just laws,

the other great jurist of the time, Julius Paulus; see c. xxvi. 5; *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4.

[5] On Ulpian see c. xxvi. 5 and *Heliog.*, xvi. 2.

sine viginti iuris peritis et doctissimis ac sapientibus viris iisdemque disertissimis non minus quinquaginta, ut non minus in consilio essent sententiae quam 2senatus consultum conficerent, et id quidem ita ut iretur per sententias singulorum ac scriberetur quid quisque dixisset, dato tamen spatio ad disquirendum cogitandumque priusquam dicerent, ne incogitati 3dicere cogerentur de rebus ingentibus. fuit praeterea illi consuetudo, ut si de iure aut de negotiis tractaret, solos doctos et disertos adhiberet, si vero de re militari, militares veteres et senes bene meritos et locorum peritos ac bellorum et castrorum et omnes litteratos et maxime eos qui historiam norant, requirens quid in talibus causis quales in disceptatione versabantur veteres imperatores vel Romani vel exterarum gentium fecissent.

XVII. Referebat Encolpius, quo ille familiarissimo usus est, illum, si umquam furem iudicem vidisset, paratum habuisse digitum, ut illi oculum erueret; tantum odium eum tenebat eorum de quibus apud 2se probatum quod fures fuissent. addit Septimius, qui vitam eius non mediocriter exsecutus est, tanti stomachi fuisse Alexandrum in eos iudices qui

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[1] In 11 B.C. this number was lowered by Augustus to under 400; see Dio, liv. 35, 1. Afterwards, however, he ordered that the number should vary with the importance of the measure to be enacted; see Dio lv. 3. In 356 A.D. a *quorum* for the election of a praetor consisted of only fifty senators; see *Cod. Theodosianus*, vi. 4, 9.

[2] Not necessarily members of the *consilium* but experts summoned to give advice on some particular question.

[3] Mentioned also in c. xlviii. 7, but not otherwise known. Both he and Septimius (§ 2, also cited in c. xlviii. 7) are

and he never formally issued an imperial order save in conjunction with twenty of the most learned jurists and at least fifty men of wisdom who were also skilled in speaking, his purpose being to have in his council as many votes as were requisite to pass a decree of the senate.[1] The opinion of each man would be asked and whatever he said written down, but before anyone spoke, he was granted time for inquiry and reflection, in order that he might not be compelled to speak without due thought on matters of great importance. It was his custom, furthermore, when dealing with matters of law or public business, to summon only those who were learned and skilled in speaking,[2] but when matters of war were discussed, to summon former soldiers and old men who had served with honour and had knowledge of strategic positions, warfare, and camps; and he would also send for all the men of letters, particularly those versed in history, and ask them what action in cases like those under discussion had been taken by previous emperors, either of the Romans or of foreign nations.

XVII. Encolpius,[3] with whom Alexander was on most intimate terms, used to say that the Emperor, whenever he saw a thieving judge, had a finger ready to tear out the man's eye; such was his hatred for those whom he found guilty of theft. It is told, furthermore, by Septimius, who has given a good account of Alexander's life, that so great was his indignation at judges, who, although not actually found

probably, like Acholius (c. xiv. 6), wholly fictitious, invented by the biographer in order to embellish his narrative with the citation of sources.

furtorum fama laborassent, etiamsi damnati non essent, ut, si eos casu aliquo videret, commotione animi stomachi choleram evomeret toto vultu in-
3 ardescente,[1] ita ut nihil loqui posset. nam cum quidam Septimius Arabianus, famosus crimine furtorum et sub Heliogabalo iam liberatus, inter senatores
4 principem[2] salutatum venisset, exclamavit: "O Marna, O Iuppiter, O di inmortales, Arabianus non solum vivit, verum etiam in senatum venit, fortassis etiam de me sperat; tam fatuum, tam stultum esse me iudicat?"

Salutabatur autem nomine, hoc est "Ave, Alex-
XVIII. ander." si quis caput flexisset aut blandius aliquid dixisset, ut adulator, vel abiciebatur, si loci eius qualitas pateretur, vel ridebatur ingenti cachinno, si eius dignitas graviori subiacere non posset iniuriae.
2 salutatus consessum obtulit omnibus senatoribus atque adeo nisi honestos et bonae famae homines ad salutationem non admisit, iussitque—quemadmodum in Eleusinis sacris dicitur, ut nemo ingrediatur nisi qui se innocentem novit—per praeconem edici, ut nemo salutaret principem, qui se furem esse nosset, ne[3] aliquando detectus capitali supplicio subderetur.
3 idem adorari se vetuit, cum iam coepisset Helio-
4 gabalus adorari regum more Persarum. erat praeterea haec illius sententia, solos fures de paupertate

[1] *uultui non ardescente* P[1]. Peter[2]; *principes* P, Peter[1].
[2] *principem* Edit. princ., Peter[2]; om. in P.
[3] *ne* ins. by Edit. princ. and

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[1] The patron-deity of Gaza in Palestine, later identified with Zeus. His cult is frequently mentioned in early Christian writers as an opponent of Christianity.
[2] *i.e.* not as *Domine;* see c. iv. 1.

guilty, yet laboured under the reputation of being dishonest, that, even if he merely chanced to see them, he would vent all the bile of his anger in great perturbation of spirit and with his whole countenance aflame, so that he became unable to speak. Indeed, when a certain Septimius Arabianus, who had been notorious because of accusations of theft, but had been acquitted under Elagabalus, came with the senators to pay his respects to the Emperor, Alexander exclaimed: "O Marna,[1] O Jupiter, O ye gods in Heaven, not only is Arabianus alive, but he comes into the senate, and perhaps he is even hoping for some favour from me; does he consider me so foolish and so stupid?"

In greeting him at his levees it was customary to address him by his name only, that is, "Hail, Alexander".[2] XVIII. And if any man bowed his head or said aught that was over-polite as a flatterer, he was either ejected, in case the degree of his station permitted it, or else, if his rank could not be subjected to graver affront, he was ridiculed with loud laughter. At his levees he granted an audience to all senators, but even so he admitted to his presence none but the honest and those of good report; and—according to the custom said to be observed in the Eleusinian mysteries, where none may enter save those who know themselves to be guiltless—he gave orders that the herald should proclaim that no one who knew himself to be a thief should come to pay his respects to the emperor, lest he might in some way be discovered and receive capital punishment. Also, he forbade any one to worship him, whereas Elagabalus had begun to receive adoration in the manner of the king of the Persians. Furthermore,

5 conqueri, dum volunt scelera vitae suae tegere. item addebat sententiam de furibus notam et Graece quidem, quae Latine hoc significat: "Qui multa rapuerit, pauca suffragatoribus dederit, salvus erit." quae Graece talis est:

Ὁ πολλὰ κλέψας ὀλίγα δοὺς ἐκφεύξεται.

XIX. Praefectum praetorii sibi ex senatus auctoritate constituit, praefectum urbi a senatu accepit. alterum praefectum praetorii fecit, qui ne fieret etiam fugerat, dicens invitos non ambientes in re 2 publica conlocandos. senatorem numquam sine omnium senatorum qui aderant consilio fecit, ita ut per sententias omnium crearetur,[1] testimonia dicerent summi viri, ac si fefellissent vel testes vel ii qui sententias dicebant postea in ultimum reicerentur locum civium condemnatione adhibita, quasi falsi rei 3 adprobati, sine ullius indulgentiae proposito. idem senatores nonnisi ad summorum in Palatio virorum suffragium fecit, dicens magnum virum esse oportere 4 qui faceret senatorem. idem libertinos numquam in equestrem locum redegit, adserens seminarium senatorum equestrem locum esse.

[1] *crearetur* Edit. princ. and later editors; *curaretur* P; *circumiretur* Peter.

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[1] This was in accord with Alexander's general policy of granting the senate a larger share in the administration of the empire and increasing its prestige; see also c. xxiv. 1; xliii. 2; xlvi. 5. It had been customary to advance the prefect of the guard, on his retirement, to membership in the senatorial order (see *Hadr.*, viii. 7 and note; *Com.*, iv. 7), but now the office was opened to senators as well as knights, and those knights who were appointed to it were raised to senatorial rank; see c. xxi. 3.

he was the originator of the saying that only thieves complain of poverty—their purpose being to conceal the wickedness of their lives. He used also to quote a well known proverb about thieves, using a Greek version which is rendered into Latin thus: "Whoso steals much but gives a little to his judges, he shall go free." The Greek, however, is as follows:

"Who much has thieved, through payment small
shall be absolved."

XIX. He always chose his prefects of the guard subject to the authorization of the senate[1] and the senate actually appointed the prefect of the city. Once he even appointed as second prefect of the guard[2] a man who had tried to avoid the appointment, saying that it was the reluctant and not the seekers of office who should be given positions in the state. He never appointed anyone to the senate without consulting all the senators present; for it was his policy that a senator should be chosen only in accordance with the opinions of all, that men of the highest rank should give their testimony, and that, if either those who gave testimony or those who subsequently expressed their opinion had spoken falsely, they should be degraded to the lowest class of citizens, the sentence being carried out without any prospect of mercy, just as if they had been found guilty of fraud. Moreover, he never appointed senators except on the vote of the men of highest rank in the Palace, asserting that he who created a senator should himself be a great man. And he would never enrol freedmen in the equestrian order, for he always maintained that this order was the nursery for senators.

[2] See note to *Hadr.*, ix. 5.

XX. Moderationis tantae fuit, ut nemo umquam ab eius latere summoveretur, ut omnibus se blandum adfabilemque praeberet, ut amicos non solum primi aut secundi loci sed etiam inferiores aegrotantes viseret, ut sibi ab omnibus libere quod sentiebant[1] dici cuperet et, cum dictum esset, audiret et, cum audisset, ita ut res poscebat emendaret atque corri-
2 geret, sin minus bene factum esset aliquid, etiam ipse convinceret, idque sine fastu[2] et sine amaritudine pectoris, consessum omnibus semper offerret praeter eos quos furtorum densior fama perstrinxerat, de
3 absentibus semper requireret. denique cum ei nimiam civilitatem et Mamaea mater et uxor Memmia, Sulpicii consularis viri filia, Catuli neptis, saepe obicerent et[3] dicerent, "Molliorem tibi potestatem et contemptibiliorem imperii fecisti," ille respondit, "Sed securi-
4 orem atque diuturniorem." dies denique numquam transiit, quando non aliquid mansuetum, civile, pium fecit, sed ita ut aerarium non everteret.

XXI. Condemnationes perraras[4] esse iussit, at quae factae fuerant non indulsit. vectigalia civitatibus ad

[1] *quod sentiebant* Peter, Jordan; *consentiebant* P[1]; *consentiebat* P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355. [2] *idque in factum* P. [3] *obicerent et* ins. by Peter; om. in P. [4] *perraras* Peter; *erraras* P[1]; *raras* P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355.

[1] On the *amici* see note to *Heliog.*, xi. 2. They were divided into *amici primae* and *secundae admissionis*, corresponding in general to the senatorial and equestrian orders, although this principle of distinction was not carried out rigidly.

[2] She is not mentioned elsewhere. In the autumn of 225 Alexander married Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, mentioned in inscriptions and portrayed on coins of 225-227. Memmia (if the name is not apocryphal) was perhaps the wife (unnamed)

XX. So considerate was he that he would never have anyone ordered to stand aside, always showed himself courteous and gracious to all, visited the sick, not merely his friends of the first and second degrees,[1] but also those of lower rank, desired that every man should speak his thoughts freely and heard him when he spoke, and, when he had heard, ordered improvement and reform as the case demanded; but if anything was not done well, he would reprove it in person, though without any arrogance or bitterness of spirit. He would grant an audience to any except those whom persistent rumours charged with dishonesty, and he would always make inquiries concerning the absent. Finally, when his mother Mamaea and his wife Memmia,[2] the daughter of Sulpicius, a man of consular rank, and the granddaughter of Catulus, would often upbraid him for excessive informality, saying, "You have made your rule too gentle and the authority of the empire less respected," he would reply, "Yes, but I have made it more secure and more lasting." In short, he never allowed a day to pass without doing some kind, some generous, or some righteous deed, and yet he never ruined the public treasury.

XXI. He gave orders that few sentences should be pronounced, but those that were pronounced he would not reverse. He assigned public revenues to

of whom Herodian records that Mamaea became jealous of her and had her banished to Africa, at the same time putting to death on the charge of conspiracy her father, who had been promoted to high office by Alexander; see Herodian, vi. 1, 9-10. This event is also alluded to in c. xlix. 3-4, where the father-in-law is called Macrinus, but he cannot be identified with certainty with the Sulpicius of the present passage.

2 proprias fabricas deputavit. faenus publicum tri-
entarium exercuit, ita ut pauperibus plerisque sine
usuris pecunias dederit ad agros emendos, reddendas
de fructibus.
3 Praefectis praetorii suis senatoriam addidit digni-
tatem, ut Viri Clarissimi et essent et dicerentur.
4 quod antea vel raro fuerat vel omnino diu[1] non
fuerat, eo usque ut si quis imperatorum successorem
praefecto praetorii dare vellet, laticlaviam eidem per
libertum summitteret, ut in multorum vita Marius
5 Maximus dixit. Alexander autem idcirco senatores
esse voluit praefectos praetorii, ne quis non senator
de Romano senatore iudicaret.
6 Milites suos sic ubique scivit, ut in cubiculo haberet
breves et numerum et tempora militantum contin-
entes,[2] semperque, cum solus esset, et rationes eorum
et numerum et dignitates et stipendia recenseret, ut
7 esset ad omnia instructissimus. denique cum[3] inter
militares aliquid ageretur, multorum dicebat et
8 nomina. de provehendis[4] etiam sibi adnotabat et
perlegebat cuncta pittacia, et sic faciebat diebus
etiam pariter adnotatis et quis quo esset insinuante
promotus.
9 Commeatum populi Romani sic adiuvit, ut, cum

[1] *non diu* P. [2] *continentes* ins. by Kellerbauer and Peter[2]; om. in P. [3] *cum* ins. in P corr.; om. in P[1]. [4] *prouehendis* Mommsen; *prouendis* P, acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355; *promouendis* Peter.

This was a very low rate; see *Pius*, ii. 8 and note.
See note to c. xix. 1.
On the title see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.
i.e. dismiss him from office; see note to *Hadr.*, ix. 4.
[5] On this principle see *Hadr.*, vii. 4 and note; *Sev.*, vii. 5.

individual communities for the advancement of their own special handicrafts. And he loaned out public money on interest at four-per-cent,[1] but to many of the poor he even advanced money without interest for the purchase of lands, the loans to be repaid from their profits.

His prefects of the guard he would promote to the rank of senator[2] in order that they might belong to the class of The Illustrious[3] and be so addressed. Previous to his time such promotions had been made rarely, or, if made at all, had been of short duration; indeed—as Marius Maximus says in many of his biographies—whenever an emperor wished to appoint a successor to the prefect of the guard,[4] he merely had a freedman take him a tunic with the broad stripe. Alexander, however, in wishing the prefects to be senators had this end in view, namely, that no one might pass judgment on a Roman senator who was not a senator himself.[5]

He knew all about his soldiers, wherever he might be; even in his bed-chamber he had records containing the numbers of the troops and the length of each man's service, and when he was alone he constantly went over their budgets, their numbers, their several ranks, and their pay, in order that he might be thoroughly conversant with every detail. Finally, whenever there was anything to be done in the presence of the soldiers, he could even call many of them by name. He would also make notes about those whom he was to promote and read through each memorandum, actually making a note at the same time both of the date and the name of the man on whose recommendation the promotion was made.

He greatly improved the provisioning of the

frumenta Heliogabalus evertisset, hic empta[1] de pro-
XXII. pria pecunia loco suo reponeret. negotiatoribus, ut
Romam volentes concurrerent, maximam inmunitatem
2 dedit. oleum, quod Severus populo dederat quod-
que Heliogabalus inminuerat turpissimis hominibus
praefecturam annonae tribuendo, integrum restituit.
3 ius conferendi actiones,[2] quod impurus ille sustulerat,
4 hic omnibus reddidit. mechanica opera Romae plu-
rima instituit. Iudaeis privilegia reservavit. Christia-
5 nos esse passus est. pontificibus tantum detulit et
quindecimviris atque auguribus, ut quasdam causas
sacrorum a se finitas iterari et aliter distingui patere-
6 tur. praesides provinciarum, quos vere non factioni-
bus laudari comperit, et itineribus secum semper in
vehiculo habuit et muneribus adiuvit, dicens et fures
a re publica pellendos ac pauperandos et integros
7 esse retinendos[3] atque ditandos. cum vilitatem po-
pulus Romanus ab eo peteret, interrogavit per curio-
nem quam speciem caram putarent. illi continuo

[1] *hic empta* Salm., Peter; *uicem pia* P. [2] *conferre rationes* P, Peter. [3] *retinendos* Cornelissen, Peter[2]; *redimendos* P, Peter.[1]

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[1] The coins of Alexander show five different *liberalitates*, or distributions of grain or money to the people; see Cohen, iv[2], p. 412-417, nos. 107-145. This number is not in accord with the statement in c. xxvi. 1, which, accordingly, is incorrect.

[2] By remitting the tax levied on them; see c. xxxii. 5.

[3] See *Sev.*, xviii. 3.

[4] *i.e.* Claudius, a barber; see *Heliog.*, xii. 1.

[5] The text is evidently corrupt.

[6] Perhaps the buildings described in c. xxv. 3-6.

[7] A reversal of Severus' policy; see *Sev.*, xvii. 1. On his general interest in Judaism and Christianity see c. xxix. 2; xliii. 6-7; xlv. 7; xlix. 6; li. 7.

populace of Rome, for, whereas Elagabalus had wasted the grain-supply, Alexander, by purchasing grain at his own expense, restored it to its former status.[1] XXII. In order to bring merchants to Rome of their own accord he bestowed the greatest privileges on them,[2] and he established anew the largess of oil which Severus had given to the populace[3] and Elagabalus had reduced when he conferred the prefecture of the grain-supply on the basest.[4] The right of bringing suit,[5] which that same filthy wretch had abrogated, he restored to all. He erected in Rome very many great engineering-works.[6] He respected the privileges of the Jews and allowed the Christians to exist unmolested.[7] He paid great deference to the Pontifices, to the Board of Fifteen,[8] and to the Augurs, even permitting certain cases involving sacred matters, though already decided by himself, to be reopened and presented in a different aspect. Whenever he discovered that the praises accorded to a returning provincial governor were genuine and not the result of intrigue, he would always ask the man to ride in his own carriage with him when on a journey and also help him by means of presents, saying that rogues should be driven from public office and impoverished, but that the upright should be retained and enriched. Once, when the populace of Rome petitioned him for a reduction of prices, he had a herald ask them what kinds of food they considered too dear, and when they cried out

[8] The *quindecimviri sacris faciendis*, or keepers of the Sibylline Books, which contained formulas or verses officially consulted by the senate at great crises. The emperor was always a member of this board as well as of the *pontifices* and *augures*; see note to *Marc.*, vi. 3.

exclamaverunt carnem bubulam atque porcinam.
8 tunc ille non quidem vilitatem proposuit sed iussit,
ne quis suminatam occideret, ne quis lactantem, ne
quis vaccam, ne quis damalionem, tantumque intra
biennium vel prope annum porcinae carnis fuit et
bubulae, ut, cum fuisset octo minutulis[1] libra, ad duos
unumque[2] utriusque carnis libra redigeretur.

XXIII. Causas militum contra tribunos sic audivit
ut, si aliquem repperisset tribunorum in crimine, pro
facti qualitate sine indulgentiae proposito puniret.
2 de omnibus hominibus per fideles homines suos
semper quaesivit, et per eos quos nemo nosset hoc
agebat,[3] cum diceret omnes praeda corrumpi posse.
3 servos suos semper cum servili veste habuit, libertos
4 cum ingenuorum. eunuchos de ministerio suo abiecit
5 et uxori ut servos servire iussit. et cum Heliogabalus
manicipium eunuchorum fuisset, ad certum numerum
eos redegit nec quicquam in Palatio curare fecit nisi
6 balneas feminarum. cum plerosque eunuchos rationi-
bus et procurationibus praeposuisset Heliogabalus, hic
7 illis et veteres sustulit dignitates. idem tertium
genus hominum eunuchos esse dicebat nec viden-
dum nec in usu habendum a viris sed vix a feminis
8 nobilibus. qui de eo fumos[4] vendiderat et a quodam

[1] *octo minutulis* Mommsen; *octominutalis* P, Peter. [2] *unumquemque* P. [3] *agebat* Editor; *ageret* P; *agere* Peter. [4] *fumos* P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 355; *fumus* P[1]; *fumum* Peter.

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[1] The *argenteus minutulus* (so also *Aurel.*, ix. 7; xii. 1) was the small silver coin current in the third century, corresponding to the denarius of the earlier period but much depreciated in value; see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 783.

immediately "beef and pork" he refused to proclaim a general reduction but gave orders that no one should slaughter a sow or a suckling-pig, a cow or a calf. As a result, in two years or, in fact, in little more than one year, there was such an abundance of pork and beef, that whereas a pound had previously cost eight minutuli,[1] the price of both these meats was reduced to two and even one per pound.

XXIII. When soldiers brought charges against their tribunes he would hear them with attention, and whenever he found a tribune guilty, he would punish him in proportion to the degree of his offence, leaving no prospect of pardon. In gathering information about any person he would always use agents whom he could trust, and it was his practice to employ for this purpose men whom no one knew, for he used to say that every man could be bribed. He always had his slaves wear slaves' attire, but his freedmen that of the free-born. He removed all eunuchs from his service and gave orders that they should serve his wife as slaves. And whereas Elagabalus had been the slave of his eunuchs,[2] Alexander reduced them to a limited number and removed them from all duties in the Palace except the care of the women's baths; and whereas Elagabalus had also placed many over the administration of the finances and in procuratorships, Alexander took away from them even their previous positions. For he used to say that eunuchs were a third sex of the human race, one not to be seen or employed by men and scarcely even by women of noble birth. And when one of them sold a false promise in his

[1] Cf. c. xxxiv. 3; xlv. 4; lxvi. 3.

militari centum aureos acceperat, in crucem tolli iussit per eam viam qua esset servis suis ad suburbana imperatoria iter frequentissimum.

XXIV. Provincias legatorias praesidales[1] plurimas fecit, proconsulares ex senatus voluntate ordinavit. 2 balnea mixta Romae exhiberi prohibuit, quod quidem iam ante prohibitum Heliogabalus fieri permiserat. 3 lenonum vectigal et meretricum et exsoletorum in sacrum aerarium inferri vetuit, sed sumptibus publicis ad instaurationem theatri, Circi, Amphitheatri, Stadii 4 deputavit. habuit in animo ut exsoletos vetaret, quod postea Philippus fecit, sed veritus est ne prohibens publicum dedecus in privatas cupiditates converteret, cum homines inlicita magis prohibita poscant furore 5 iactati. bracariorum, linteonum, vitrariorum, pellionum, claustrariorum, argentariorum, aurificum et

[1] *praesidales* P corr., acc. to Mommsen, *ibid.*; *praesidiales* P^1, Peter.

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[1] See note to *Pius*, vi. 4. For his punishment of one offender see c. xxxvi. 2-3.

[2] On the distinction between imperial provinces (here, *legatoriae*) and senatorial (*proconsulares*) see note to *Hadr.*, iii. 9. In the present passage the word *praesidales* presents considerable difficulty. The term *praeses* was used loosely to designate any provincial governor (see *Digesta*, i. 18, 1) as in, *e.g.*, c. xxii. 6; xlii. 4; xlvi. 5; *Hadr.*, xiii. 10; *Pius*, v. 3. Again, it was used in the later period, after the separation of the civil and military powers in the provinces, to designate the *civil* governor as opposed to the military commander, and this has been thought to be its application here. There is, however, no other evidence that this separation was carried out until the latter part of the third century, and it is very doubtful if this change can be attributed to Alexander. A third use of *praeses* was its application to a *procurator* of equestrian rank charged with the governorship of a minor imperial province as opposed to a senatorial *legatus* (see

name[1] and received a hundred aurei from one of the soldiers, he ordered him to be crucified along the road which his slaves used in great numbers on their way to the imperial country-estates.

XXIV. Very many provinces which had previously been governed by legates were transferred by him to the class which was ruled by equestrian governors,[2] and the provinces which were under proconsuls were governed according to the wish of the senate. He forbade the maintenance in Rome of baths used by both sexes—which had, indeed, been forbidden previously[3] but had been allowed by Elagabalus. He ordered that the taxes imposed on procurers, harlots, and catamites should not be deposited in the public treasury, but utilized them to meet the state's expenditures for the restoration of the theatre, the Circus, the Amphitheatre, and the Stadium.[4] In fact, he had it in mind to prohibit catamites altogether—which was afterwards done by Philip[5]—but he feared that such a prohibition would merely convert an evil recognized by the state into a vice practised in private—for men when driven on by passion are more apt to demand a vice which is prohibited. He imposed a very profitable tax on makers of trousers, weavers of linen, glass-workers, furriers, locksmiths, silversmiths, goldsmiths, and workers in the other crafts, and gave

Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 385 f.) and it seems most reasonable to interpret it in this sense here.

[3] See *Hadr.*, xviii. 10; *Marc.*, xxiii. 8.

[4] The Theatre of Marcellus (see c. xliv. 7), the Circus Maximus, the Colosseum, struck by lightning under Macrinus (see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8 and note), and the stadium built by Domitian in the Campus Martius—the site of the modern Piazza Navona.

[5] See c. xxxix. 2; *Heliog.*, xxxii. 6.

ceterarum artium vectigal pulcherrimum instituit ex eoque iussit thermas et quas ipse fundaverat et
6 superiores populi usibus exhiberi; silvas etiam thermis publicis deputavit. addidit et oleum luminibus thermarum, cum antea et non ante auroram[1] paterent et ante solis occasum clauderentur.
2 XXV. Huius imperium incruentum quidam litteris tradiderunt, quod contra est. nam et Severus est appellatus a militibus ob austeritatem et in animad-
3 versibus asperior in quibusdam fuit.

Opera veterum principum instauravit, ipse nova multa constituit, in his thermas nominis sui iuxta eas
4 quae Neronianae fuerunt, aqua inducta quae Alexandriana nunc dicitur. nemus thermis suis de privatis
5 aedibus suis, quas emerat, dirutis aedificiis fecit. Oceani solium primus inter principes[2] appellavit, cum
6 Traianus id non fecisset sed diebus solia deputasset. Antonini Caracalli thermas additis porticibus perfecit

[1] *non ante auroram* Σ codd., acc. to Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 406; *annonam* P; *ante nonam* Gruter; *ante nonam non* Peter. [2] *inter* P^1; *principes* add. in P corr.; *in thermis* Jordan; *imperator* Peter.

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[1] See c. xxv. 3.

[2] The early closing-hour was restored by the Emperor Tacitus; see *Tac.*, x. 2.

[3] See c. lii. 2.

[4] This is not true; see note to c. xii. 4.

[5] See c. xxiv. 3 and note.

[6] The *Thermae Alexandrianae* were a re-building and extension of the *Thermae Neronianae* in the Campus Martius immediately N.E. of the Pantheon; the name was still applied to this locality in the eleventh century. These *Thermae* are depicted on coins of 226; see Cohen, iv², p. 431, no. 297; p. 449 f., nos. 479-480; p. 483 f., nos. 14 and 17.

orders that the proceeds should be devoted to the maintenance of the baths for the use of the populace, not only those that he had himself built,[1] but also those that were previously in existence; he also assigned certain forests as a source of income for the public baths. In addition, he donated oil for the lighting of the baths, whereas previously these were not open before dawn and were closed before sunset.[2]

XXV. Some writers have maintained in their books that Alexander's reign was without bloodshed.[3] This, however, is not the case, for he was given the name of Severus by the soldiers because of his strictness,[4] and his punishments were in some cases much too harsh.

He restored the public works of former emperors[5] and built many new ones himself, among them the bath which was called by his own name[6] adjacent to what had been the Neronian and also the aqueduct which still has the name Alexandriana.[7] Next to this bath he planted a grove of trees on the site of some private dwellings which he purchased and then tore down. One bath-tub he called "the Ocean" —and he was the first of the emperors to do this, for Trajan had not done this[8] but had merely called his tubs after the different days. The Baths of Antoninus Caracalla he completed and beautified by the

[7] It brought the water for his *Thermae*, conveying it from springs near Gabii about eleven miles E. of the city—the source of the modern *Acqua Felice* constructed in 1585. It entered the city at the *Porta Maggiore*, about 3 km. outside which, near Vigna Certosa, its ruins are still visible, though all traces of it inside the walls have vanished.

[8] *i.e.* in his *Thermae*, the ruins of which are on the Esquiline Hill, N.E. of the Colosseum.

7 et ornavit. Alexandrinum opus marmoris de duobus marmoribus, hoc est porphyretico et Lacedaemonio, primus instituit, in Palatio plateis[1] exornatis hoc 8 genere marmorandi. statuas colossas in urbe multas 9 locavit artificibus undique conquisitis. Alexandri habitu nummos plurimos figuravit, et quidem electros aliquantos sed plurimos tamen aureos.

10 A mulieribus famosis matrem et uxorem suam 11 salutari vetuit. contiones in urbe multas habuit XXVI. more veterum tribunorum et consulum. congiarium populo ter dedit, donativum ter, carnem populo ad- 2 didit. usuras faeneratorum contraxit ad trientes 3 pensiones, etiam pauperibus consulens. senatores si faenerarentur, usuras accipere primo vetuit, nisi aliquid muneris causa acciperent; postea tamen iussit ut semisses acciperent, donum munus tamen 4 sustulit. statuas summorum virorum in foro Traiani conlocavit undique translatas.

5 Paulum et Ulpianum in magno honore habuit, quos praefectos ab Heliogabalo alii dicunt factos, alii ab

[1] *plateis* ins. by Peter[2]; om. in P.

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[1] See *Carac.*, ix. 4; *Heliog.*, xvii. 9.

[2] See *Heliog.*, xxiv. 6 and note.

[3] See c. xxvi. 4; xxviii. 6.

[4] Probably an allusion to the many coins on which he appears in full armour, *e.g.* Cohen, iv[2], p. 442, no. 406.

[5] An alloy of silver and gold. Coins made of it were frequently issued by the cities of Greece and Asia Minor and by Carthage, but no such Roman coins appear to be extant.

[6] See c. xxi. 9 and note.

[7] See c. xxi. 2; *Pius*, ii. 8 and note.

[8] On its site see *Hadr.*, vii. 6 and note.

[9] The two famous jurists; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and *Heliog.*, xvi. 2 and notes. The statement that they were made prefects of the guard by Elagabalus is incorrect, for he seems to

addition of a portico.[1] Moreover, he was the first to use the so-called Alexandrian marble-work, which is made of two kinds of stone, porphyry and Lacedaemonian marble,[2] and he employed this kind of material in the ornamentation of the open places in the Palace. He set up in the city many statues of colossal size,[3] calling together sculptors from all places. And he had himself depicted on many of his coins in the costume of Alexander the Great,[4] some of these coins being made of electrum[5] but most of them of gold.

He forbade women of evil reputation to attend the levees of his mother and his wife. According to the custom of the ancient tribunes and consuls he made many speeches throughout the city. XXVI. Thrice he presented a largess to the populace,[6] and thrice a gift of money to the soldiers, and to the populace he also gave meat. He reduced the interest demanded by money-lenders to the rate of four-per-cent[7]—in this measure, too, looking out for the welfare of the poor—and in the case of senators who loaned money, he first ordered them not to take any interest at all save what they might receive as a gift, but afterwards permitted them to exact six-per-cent, abrogating, however, the privilege of receiving gifts. He placed statues of the foremost men in the Forum of Trajan,[8] moving them thither from all sides.

He held in especial honour Ulpian and Paulus,[9] whom, some say, Elagabalus made prefects of the

have removed Ulpian from office (see *Heliog.*, xvi. 4) and banished Paulus (Victor, *Caes.*, xxiv. 6). Alexander's appointment of these two jurists to the prefecture of the guard was an important step in the transformation of this post from a military office to a judicial one.

[6] ipso. nam et consiliarius Alexandri et magister scrinii Ulpianus fuisse perhibetur, qui tamen ambo assessores Papiniani fuisse dicuntur.

[7] Basilicam Alexandrinam instituerat inter Campum Martium et Saepta Agrippiana in lato pedum centum in longo pedum mille, ita ut tota columnis penderet. [8] quam efficere non potuit, morte praeventus. Iseum et Serapeum decenter ornavit additis signis et Deliacis [9] et omnibus mysticis. in matrem Mamaeam unice pius fuit, ita ut Romae in Palatio faceret diaetas nominis Mamaeae, quas imperitum vulgus hodie "ad Mammam" vocat, et in Baiano palatium cum stagno, [10] quod Mamaeae nomine hodieque censetur. fecit et alia in Baiano opera magnifica in honorem adfinium [11] suorum et stagna stupenda admisso mari. pontes quos Traianus fecerat instauravit paene in omnibus locis, aliquos etiam novos fecit, sed instauratis nomen Traiani reservavit.

XXVII. In animo habuit omnibus officiis genus vestium proprium dare et omnibus dignitatibus, ut a

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[1] See c. xvi. 1 and note.

[2] The *a libellis* under Caracalla; see *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4 and note. It was probably from this office that he was removed by Elagabalus. In an edict of Alexander's of 31st March, 222 (*Codex Justinianus*, viii. 37, 4) he appears as *praefectus annonae;* in a later one of 1st Dec., 222 (*id.*, iv. 65, 4) he is prefect of the guard.

[3] On the *assessores* see notes to *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 3-4.

[4] See *Carac.*, iii. 2 and note.

[5] Otherwise unknown, but probably connected with his *Thermae.*

[6] See note to *Hadr.*, xix. 10.

[7] This double sanctuary was in the Campus Martius between the Pantheon and the Saepta, E. of the modern church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Originally founded in 43 B.C. (Dio,

guard, others, Alexander himself. Ulpian, it is related, was a member of Alexander's council[1] as well as chief of a bureau,[2] but both of them are said to have sat on the bench[3] with Papinian.[4]

Alexander also began the Basilica Alexandrina,[5] situated between the Campus Martius and the Saepta of Agrippa,[6] one hundred feet broad and one thousand long and so constructed that its weight rested wholly on columns; its completion, however, was prevented by his death. The shrines of Isis and Serapis[7] he supplied with a suitable equipment, providing them with statues, Delian slaves,[8] and all the apparatus used in mystic rites. Toward his mother Mamaea he showed singular devotion, even to the extent of constructing in the Palace at Rome certain apartments named after her (which the ignorant mob of today calls "ad Mammam"[9]) and also near Baiae a palace and a pool, still listed officially under the name of Mamaea. He also built in the district of Baiae other magnificent public works in honour of his kinsmen, and huge pools, besides, formed by letting in the sea. The bridges which Trajan had built he restored almost everywhere, and he constructed new ones, too, but on those that he restored he retained Trajan's name.

XXVII. It was his intention to assign a peculiar type of clothing to each imperial staff, not only to the various ranks—in order that they might be distinguished by their garments—but also to the slaves as

xlvii. 15), it was burned under Titus (Dio, lxvi. 24) but rebuilt by Domitian (Eutropius, vii. 23).

[8] Apparently castrated slaves (see Petronius, *Sat.*, xxiii.), named from the island of Delos, famous as a slave-market.

[9] Apparently a popular corruption of Mamaea's name.

vestitu dinoscerentur, et omnibus servis, ut in populo possent agnosci, ne quis seditiosus esset, simul ne servi ingenuis miscerentur. sed hoc Ulpiano Paulo-
2 que displicuit, dicentibus plurimum rixarum fore, si
3 faciles essent homines ad iniurias. tum satis esse constituit, ut equites Romani a senatoribus clavi
4 qualitate discernerentur. paenulis intra urbam frigoris causa ut senes uterentur permisit, cum id vestimenti genus semper itinerarium aut pluviale fuisset. matronas tamen intra urbem paenulis uti vetuit, itinere permisit.

5 Facundiae Graecae magis quam Latinae nec versu invenustus et ad musicam pronus, matheseos peritus, et ita quidem ut ex eius iussu mathematici publice proposuerint Romae ac sint professi, ut docerent.
6 haruspicinae quoque peritissimus fuit, orneoscopos magnus, ut et Vascones Hispanorum et Pannoniorum
7 augures vicerit. geometriam fecit. pinxit mire, cantavit nobiliter, sed numquam alio conscio nisi
8 pueris suis testibus. vitas principum bonorum versi-
9 bus scripsit. lyra, tibia, organo cecinit, tuba etiam, quod quidem imperator numquam ostendit. palaestes

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[1] The convention had long been in existence that senators should wear a broad purple stripe on their tunics (see note to *Com.*, iv. 7) and knights a narrow one.

[2] See c. iii. 4.

[3] See also c. xliv. 4. Astrologers, usually called *Chaldaei*, had always been looked upon with suspicion by the Roman government and were officially banished from Rome as early as 139 B.C. Though periodically ordered to leave the city during the early empire (see Tacitus, *Annals*, ii. 32; xii. 52; *Hist.*, ii. 62), they continued to practise their art and were consulted by many and even by the emperors themselves

a class—that they might be easily recognized when among the populace and held in check in case of disorder, and also that they might be prevented from mingling with the free-born. This measure, however, was regarded with disapproval by Ulpian and Paulus, who declared that it would cause much brawling in case the men were at all quick to quarrel. Thereupon it was held to be sufficient to make a distinction between Roman knights and senators by means of the width of the purple stripe.[1] But permission was given to old men to wear cloaks in the city as a protection against the cold, whereas previously this kind of garment had not been used except on journeys or in rainy weather. Matrons, on the other hand, were forbidden to wear cloaks in the city but permitted to use them while on a journey.

He could deliver orations in Greek better than in Latin,[2] he wrote verse that was not lacking in charm, and he had a taste for music. He was expert in astrology, and in accordance with his command astrologers even established themselves officially in Rome [3] and professed their art openly for the purpose of supplying information. He was also well versed in divination, and so skilled an observer of birds was he that he surpassed both the Spanish Vascones [4] and the augurs of the Pannonians. He was a student of geometry, he painted marvellously, and he sang with distinction, though he never allowed any listeners to be present except his slaves. He composed in verse the lives of the good emperors. He could play the lyre, the clarinet, and the organ, and he could even blow the trumpet, but this he never

[4] In mod. Navarre, the ancestors of the Basques. Their skill in augury is not attested elsewhere.

primus fuit. in armis magnus, adeo ut multa bella et gloriose gesserit.

XXVIII. Consulatum ter iniit tantum ordinarium ac primo nundinio sibi alios semper suffecit. severissimus iudex contra fures, appellans eosdem cotidianorum scelerum reos et damnans acerrime ac solos hostes inimicosque rei publicae vocans. eum notarium qui falsum causae brevem in consilio imperatorio rettulisset, incisis digitorum nervis, ita ut numquam posset scribere, deportavit. cum quidam ex honoratis vitae sordidae et aliquando furtorum reus per ambitionem nimiam ad militiam adspirasset, idcirco quod per reges amicos ambierat admissus, statim in furto praesentibus patronis detectus est iussusque a regibus audiri damnatus est re probata. et cum quaereretur a regibus, quid apud eos paterentur fures, illi responderunt "crucem." ad eorum responsum in crucem sublatus est. ita et patronis auctoribus damnatus ambitor est et Alexandri quam praecipue tuebatur servata clementia est.

Statuas colossas vel pedestres nudas vel equestres

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[1] In 222, 226, and 229. On the *consul ordinarius* see note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

[2] Originally used to denote the market-day—every eighth day—the word *nundinium* (*nundinae*) came to signify the portion of the year during which a pair of consuls (*ordinarii* or *suffecti*) held office. This use of the word seems to be due to the fact that in the early period the consul took over the *fasces* from his colleague on the *nundinium;* see Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, ii³, p. 84.

[3] A narrow forum (35-40 metres in width), N.E. of the Forum Romanum. Its purpose was to connect the Forum Augusti with the temple of Pax built by Vespasian, and hence it was called Transitorium. Of the elaborate wall which

did openly while emperor. Moreover, he was a wrestler of the first rank, and he was great in arms, winning many wars and with great glory.

XXVIII. He held the regular consulship only three times,[1] merely entering upon the office and on the first legal day[2] always appointing some one else in his place. As a judge he was especially harsh toward thieves, referring to them as guilty of daily crime, and he would pronounce most severe sentences on them, declaring that they were the only real enemies and foes of the state. When a clerk at a meeting of the imperial council brought in a falsified brief of a case, he ordered the tendons of his fingers to be cut, in order that he might never be able to write again, and then banished him. Once a certain man, who had held public office and had at some time been accused of evil living and theft, sought by means of undue intriguing to enter military service and was admitted because he had paid court to certain friendly kings; but immediately thereafter he was detected in a theft, even in the very presence of his patrons, and was ordered to plead his case before the kings, and his guilt being established he was convicted. Thereupon the kings were asked what penalty thieves suffered at their hands, and they replied "the cross," and at this reply the man was crucified. So not only was the intriguer condemned by his own patrons, but also Alexander's policy of clemency, which he particularly desired to maintain, was duly upheld.

In the Forum of Nerva[3] (which they call the

surrounded this forum two Corinthian columns with a portion of the frieze are still in situ.

divis imperatoribus in foro Divi Nervae, quod Transitorium dicitur, locavit omnibus cum titulis et columnis aereis, quae gestorum ordinem continerent, exemplo Augusti, qui summorum virorum statuas in foro suo
7 e marmore conlocavit additis gestis. volebat videri originem de Romanorum gente trahere, quia eum pudebat Syrum dici, maxime quod quodam tempore festo,[1] ut solent, Antiochenses, Aegyptii, Alexandrini lacessiverant[2] conviciolis, et Syrum archisynagogum eum vocantes et[3] archiereum.

XXIX. Antequam de bellis eius et expeditionibus et victoriis loquar, de vita cotidiana et domestica pauca
2 disseram. usus vivendi eidem hic fuit: primum,[4] si facultas esset, id est si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo, in quo et divos principes sed optimos electos et animas sanctiores, in quis Apollonium et, quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham et Orpheum et huiuscemodi[5] ceteros habebat ac maiorum effigies, rem divinam
3 faciebat. si id non poterat, pro loci qualitate vel vectabatur vel piscabatur vel deambulabat vel vena-

[1] *festo* editors, Peter; *frusta* P; *a scurra* Salm. [2] *lacessiuerant* editors, Peter; *lacessitus erat* P, Salm., Petschenig. [3] *et* om. in P. [4] *primum ut* P; *ut* del. by Peter. [5] *huius* P.

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[1] N.W. of the Forum Nervae. Its chief adornment was the Temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus, extensive ruins of which are still preserved.

[2] Cf. c. xliv. 3; lxiv. 3.

[3] *i.e.* ἀρχιερεύς or chief-priest; it was evidently an allusion to the high-priesthood of the god Elagabalus of Emesa, which was hereditary in his mother's family.

[4] Apollonius of Tyana in Asia Minor, a Pythagorean philosopher and miracle-worker of the first century after Christ.

Forum Transitorium) he set up colossal statues of the deified emperors, some on foot and nude, others on horseback, with all their titles and with columns of bronze containing lists of their exploits, doing this after the example of Augustus, who erected in his forum [1] marble statues of the most illustrious men, together with the record of their achievements. He wished it to be thought that he derived his descent from the race of the Romans, for he felt shame at being called a Syrian,[2] especially because, on the occasion of a certain festival, the people of Antioch and of Egypt and Alexandria had annoyed him with jibes, as is their custom, calling him a Syrian synagogue-chief and a high priest.[3]

XXIX. Before I tell of his wars and his campaigns and his victories, I will relate a few details of his private every-day life. His manner of living was as follows: First of all, if it were permissible, that is to say, if he had not lain with his wife, in the early morning hours he would worship in the sanctuary of his Lares, in which he kept statues of the deified emperors—of whom, however, only the best had been selected—and also of certain holy souls, among them Apollonius,[4] and, according to a contemporary writer, Christ, Abraham, Orpheus, and others of this same character and, besides, the portraits of his ancestors.[5] If this act of worship were not possible, he would ride about, or fish, or walk, or hunt, according to the character of the place in which he was. Next, if the hour permitted, he would give earnest attention to

[5] Containing also a statue of Alexander the Great; see c. xxxi. 5. Marcus Aurelius had had a similar chapel, in which he kept statues of his teachers; see *Marc.*, iii. 5.

batur. dehinc, si hora permitteret, actibus publicis permultam[1] operam dabat, idcirco quod et res bellicae et civiles, ut superius dictum est, per amicos tractabantur, sed sanctos et fidelis et numquam venales, et tractatae firmabantur, nisi quid novi etiam ipsi placeret. sane si necessitas cogeret, ante lucem actibus operam dabat et in longam horam producebat neque umquam taediavit aut morosus aut iratus resedit, fronte semper pari et laetus ad omnia. erat enim ingentis prudentiae et cui nemo posset imponere et quem si aliquis urbane temptare voluit, intellectus tulit poenas.

XXX. Post actus publicos seu bellicos seu civiles lectioni Graecae operam maiorem dabat, de Re Publica libros Platonis legens. Latina cum legeret, non alia magis legebat quam de Officiis Ciceronis et de Re Publica, nonnumquam et orationes et poetas, in quis Serenum Sammonicum, quem ipse noverat et dilexerat, et Horatium. legit et vitam Alexandri, quem praecipue imitatus est, etsi in eo condemnabat ebrietatem et crudelitatem in amicos, quamvis utrumque defendatur a bonis scriptoribus, quibus saepius ille credebat. post lectionem operam palaestrae aut sphaeristerio aut cursui aut luctaminibus mollioribus dabat, atque inde unctus lavabatur, ita ut caldaria vel numquam vel raro, piscina semper uteretur in eaque

[1] *permultam* Krauss, Peter[2]; *post multam* P.

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[1] See c. xvi. 3.

[2] The son of Sammonicus Serenus the antiquary; see *Carac.*, iv. 4 and note. A series of sixty-three medical prescriptions written in hexameter verse, attributed in the manuscripts to Quintus Serenus, is usually supposed to have been written by him.

public business, for all matters both military and civil, were, as I have said previously,[1] worked over by his friends—who were, however, upright and faithful and never open to bribes—and when they had been thus worked over they were given his endorsement, except when it pleased him to make some alteration. Of course, if necessity demanded it, he would give his attention to public business even before dawn and continue at it up to an advanced hour, never growing weary or giving up in irritation or anger, but always with a serene brow and cheerful in every task. He was, indeed, a man of great sagacity, and he could not be tricked, and whoever tried to impose on him by some sharp practice was always found out and punished.

XXX. After the public business, whether military or civil, he would give even greater attention to reading Greek, usually Plato's *Republic*. When he read Latin, there was nothing that he would read in preference to Cicero *on Duties* and *on the State*, but sometimes he would read speeches or the poets, among them Serenus Sammonicus,[2] whom he himself had known and loved, and also Horace. He would read, too, the life of Alexander the Great, whom he particularly sought to resemble, although he always denounced his drunkenness and his brutality toward his friends, in spite of the fact that these vices were denied by trustworthy writers, whom Alexander in most cases believed. After his reading he would devote himself to exercise, either ball-playing or running or some mild wrestling. Then, after having himself rubbed with oil, he would bathe, but rarely, if ever, in a hot bath, for he always used a swimming-pool, remaining in it about an hour; and before he

una hora prope maneret, biberet etiam frigidam
5 Claudiam ieiunus ad unum prope sextarium. egressus balneas multum lactis et panis sumebat, ova deinde mulsum. atque his refectus, aliquando prandium inibat aliquando cibum usque ad cenam differebat,
6 prandit tamen saepius. ususque est Hadriani tetrapharmaco frequenter, de quo in libris suis Marius Maximus loquitur, cum Hadriani disserit vitam.

XXXI. Postmeridianas horas subscriptioni et lectioni epistularum semper dedit, ita ut ab epistulis, a[1] libellis et a memoria semper adsisterent, nonnumquam etiam, si stare per valetudinem non possent, sederent, relegentibus cuncta librariis et iis qui scrinium gerebant, ita ut Alexander sua manu adderet si quid esset addendum, sed ex eius sententia qui
2 disertior habebatur. post epistulas omnes amicos simul admisit, cum omnibus pariter est locutus, neque umquam solum quemquam nisi praefectum suum vidit, et quidem Ulpianum, ex assessore semper suo causa
3 iustitiae singularis. cum autem alterum adhibuit, et Ulpianum rogari iussit.

4 Vergilium autem Platonem poetarum vocabat eiusque imaginem cum Ciceronis simulacro in secundo

[1] *a* ins. by Jordan and Peter[2]; om. in P.

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[1] The *Aqua Claudia*, begun by Caligula and finished by Claudius in 52 A.D., drew its water from the Sabine Mountains in the neighbourhood of the mod. Subiaco. Together with the *Aqua Anio Novus*, it enters Rome on high arches at the Porta Maggiore.

[2] See *Hadr.*, xxi. 4; *Ael.*, v. 4-5.

[3] See note to *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 4.

[4] On the *amici* see note to *Heliog.*, xi. 2.

[5] Cf. c. lxvii. 2.

took any food he would drink about a pint of cold water from the Claudian aqueduct.[1] On coming out of the bath he would take a quantity of milk and bread, some eggs, and then a drink of mead. Thus refreshed, he would sometimes proceed to luncheon, sometimes put off eating until the evening meal, but more frequently he took luncheon. And he often partook of Hadrian's tetrapharmacum,[2] which Marius Maximus describes in his work on the life of Hadrian.

XXXI. The afternoon hours he always devoted to signing and reading letters. Meanwhile, the heads of the bureaus of the Imperial Correspondence, the Petitions, and the Memoranda [3] would always stand beside him, or occasionally, if unable to stand on account of ill-health, they would be seated, while the secretaries and those who administered the particular bureau re-read everything to him; then he would add with his own hand whatever was to be added, but in conformity with the opinion of the man who was regarded as the most expert. After attending to the letters, he would receive his friends,[4] all of them at once, and speak with all equally, and he never received anyone alone except the prefect of the guard,[5] Ulpian that is, who, because he was so pre-eminently just, had always been his assistant on the bench. Moreover, whenever he sent for anyone for a consultation, he would give orders to summon Ulpian also.

He used to call Vergil the Plato of poets and he kept his portrait, together with a likeness of Cicero, in his second sanctuary of the Lares,[6] where he also had

[6] In distinction from the *lararium maius*, for which see c. xxix. 2.

larario habuit, ubi et Achillis et magnorum virorum.
5 Alexandrum vero Magnum inter optimos et divos in larario maiore consecravit.

XXXII. Iniuriam nulli umquam amicorum comitumve fecit nec magistris quidem aut principibus
2 officiorum. praefectis autem semper detulit, adserens eum qui mereatur iniuriam pati ab imperatore dam-
3 nandum esse, non dimittendum. si umquam alicui praesentium successorem dedit, semper illud addidit, "Gratias tibi agit res publica," eumque muneratus est, ita ut privatus pro loco suo posset honeste vivere, his quidem muneribus: agris, bubus, equis, frumento, ferro, impendiis ad faciendam domum, marmoribus ad ornandam, et operis quas ratio fabricae requirebat.
4 aurum et argentum raro cuiquam nisi militi divisit, nefas esse dicens ut dispensator publicus in delectationes suas et suorum converteret id quod provinciales
5 dedissent. aurum negotiatorium et coronarium Romae remisit.

XXXIII. Fecit Romae curatores urbis quattuordecim sed ex consulibus viros, quos audire negotia
2 urbana cum praefecto urbis iussit, ita ut omnes aut magna pars adessent cum acta fierent. corpora omnium constituit vinariorum, lupinariorum, caligariorum

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[1] As the chief judicial officials; see note to c. xxvi. 5.

[2] In contrast with the extravagant gifts that were continually made by Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xxi. 7; xxii, 3; xxvi. 5. On Alexander's *liberalitates* see c. xxi. 9 and note.

[3] See note to *Hadr.*, vi. 5.

[4] See *Heliog.*, xx. 3 and note.

portraits of Achilles and the great heroes. But Alexander the Great he enshrined in his greater sanctuary along with the most righteous men and the deified emperors.

XXXII. He never showed harshness to any of his friends or companions, or, for that matter, to any of the heads of the bureaus or the chiefs of staff. Indeed, he would always refer their cases to the prefects of the guard,[1] declaring that if any one deserved harsh treatment from the emperor, he ought to be condemned and not dismissed. Whenever he appointed a successor to anyone in the man's own presence, he would always add, "The State is grateful to you"; and he would reward him, too, in order that after his retirement he might live respectably and in keeping with his rank, presenting him with such gifts as lands, cattle, horses, grain, tools, the cost of building a house, marbles for beautifying it, and the labour which the character of the construction demanded. He rarely distributed gold or silver except to the soldiers,[2] maintaining that it was a sin for the steward of the state to use for his own pleasures or those of his friends that which was contributed by the people of the provinces. But to the city of Rome he remitted the tax on merchants and the crown-gold.[3]

XXXIII. He appointed fourteen overseers of the city of Rome,[4] chosen from among the ex-consuls, and these he commanded to hear city-cases in conjunction with the prefect of the city, giving orders that all of them, or at least a majority, should be present whenever the records were made. He also formed guilds of all the wine-dealers, the green-grocers, the bootmakers, and, in short, of all the trades, and he granted

et omnino omnium artium, atque[1] ex sese defensores dedit et iussit qui ad quos iudices pertinerent.[2]

3 Scaenicis numquam aurum, numquam argentum, vix pecuniam donavit. pretiosas vestes, quas Heliogabalus dederat, sustulit, et milites, quos ostensionales vocant, non pretiosis sed speciosis claris vestibus ornabat. nec multum in signa aut ad apparatum regium auri et serici deputabat, dicens imperium in virtute
4 esse, non in decore. chlamydes hirtas Severi et tunicas asemas vel macrocheras et purpureas non
XXXIV. magnas[3] ad usum revocavit suum. in convivio aurum nesciit, pocula mediocria sed nitida semper habuit. ducentarum librarum argenti pondus ministerium eius numquam transiit.

2 Nanos et nanas et moriones et vocales exsoletos et omnia acroamata et pantomimos populo donavit; qui autem usui non erant singulis civitatibus putavit alendos singulos, ne gravarentur specie mendicorum.
3 eunuchos, quos Heliogabalus et in consiliis turpibus habebat et promovebat, donavit amicis addito elogio, ut, si non redissent ad bonos mores, eosdem liceret
4 occidi sine auctoritate iudicii. mulieres infames, quarum infinitum numerum deprehenderat, publicari iussit, exsoletis omnibus deportatis, aliquibus etiam

[1] *atque* Peter[1]; *idque* P; *idemque* Peter[2]. [2] *pertinerent* Jordan, Baehrens; *pertineret* P, Peter. [3] *et purpureas non magnas* editors; *et purpureaque non magna* P, susp. by Peter.

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[1] Cf. c. xxxvii. 1. [2] Not otherwise known.
[3] See *Sev.*, xix. 7.
[4] Cf. c. xli. 4; in contrast with Elagabalus, see *Heliog.*, xix. 3.
[5] Cf. c. xxiii. 4-7.

them advocates chosen from their own numbers and designated the judge to whose jurisdiction each should belong.

To actors he never presented either gold or silver, and rarely money.[1] He did away with the costly garments which Elagabalus had provided, and he dressed the soldiers who are called the Paraders,[2] in bright uniforms, not costly, indeed, but elegant. Nor did he ever spend much for their standards or for the royal outfit of gold and silk, declaring that the imperial power was based, not on outward show, but on valour. For his own use he re-introduced the rough cloaks worn by Severus[3] and tunics without the purple stripe and those with long sleeves and purple ones of small size. XXXIV. Moreover, his banquets were utterly devoid of gold plate, and his goblets were always moderate in size though elegant. And his service of plate never exceeded the weight of two hundred pounds of silver.[4]

All the dwarfs, both male and female, fools, catamites who had good voices, all kinds of entertainers at table, and actors of pantomimes he made public property; those, however, who were not of any use were assigned, each to a different town, for support, in order that no one town might be burdened by a new kind of beggars. The eunuchs, whom Elagabalus had had in his base councils and had promoted,[5] he presented to his friends, adding a statement to the effect that if they did not return to honest ways, it should be lawful to put them to death without authority from the courts. Women of ill repute, of whom he arrested an enormous number, he ordered to become public prostitutes, and he deported all catamites,[6] some of

[4] But cf. c. xxiv. 4.

naufragio mersis, cum quibus illa clades consuetudinem habuerat funestissimam.

5 Auratam vestem ministrorum vel in publico con-
6 vivio nullus habuit. cum inter suos convivaretur, aut Ulpianum aut doctos homines adhibebat, ut haberet fabulas litteratas, quibus se recreari dicebat et pasci.
7 habebat, cum privatim convivaretur, et librum in mensa et legebat, sed Graece magis; Latinos autem
8 poetas lectitabat. publica convivia ea simplicitate egit qua privata, nisi quod numerus accubitionum crescebat et multitudo convivarum, qua ille offendebatur, dicens se in theatro et circo manducare.

XXXV. Oratores et poetas non sibi panegyricos dicentes, quod exemplo Nigri Pescennii stultum ducebat, sed aut orationes recitantes aut facta veterum qui erant eminentes libenter[1] audivit, libentius tamen, si quis ei recitavit Alexandri Magni laudes aut meliorum retro principum aut magnorum urbis
2 Romae virorum. ad Athenaeum audiendorum et Graecorum et Latinorum rhetorum[2] vel poetarum
3 causa frequenter processit. audivit autem etiam forenses oratores causas recitantes, quas vel apud ipsum
4 vel apud praefectos urbis egerant. agoni praesedit et maxime Herculeo in honorem Magni Alexandri.

[1] *qui erant eminentes libenter* Editor; *quam netuli ueniter* P; *canentes libenter* Salm., Peter. [2] *praetorum* P.

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[1] Cf. c. xxx. 2. [2] See *Pesc.* Nig., **xi.** 5.

[3] See note to *Pert.*, **xi.** 3.

[4] Contests (ἀγῶνες) modelled after the great Greek contests had been in vogue in Rome since 186 B.C. Originally purely athletic, they were soon extended to include musicians and, later, poets. The most famous were the *Ludi pro salute Augusti* (to commemorate the battle of Actium), the *Agon Neroneus*, held in 60 and 65 and restored in honour of Minerva by Gordian III., and the *Agon Capitolinus*, instituted by Domi-

them, with whom that scourge had carried on a most pernicious intimacy, being drowned by shipwreck.

None of his servants ever wore a garment ornamented with gold, not even at a public banquet. When he dined with the members of his household, he would invite Ulpian or some other man of learning, in order to have conversation of a literary character, for this, he used to say, refreshed and nourished him. And when he dined in private he would even keep a book on the table and read, usually Greek; Latin poets, however, he used to read also.[1] His state-dinners were conducted with the same simplicity as his private ones, except that the number of covers and the crowd of guests was greatly increased, though this was always displeasing to him, and he would say that he was feeding in a theatre or a circus.

XXXV. He heard orators and poets with pleasure—not, indeed, when they made laudatory addresses to himself, which, following the example of Pescennius Niger,[2] he considered a foolish custom, but when they recited speeches or the deeds of ancient men of eminence—and with still greater pleasure, when they related the praises of Alexander the Great or of the better emperors of the past, or of the great men of the city of Rome. Moreover, he often resorted to the Athenæum[3] to hear both Greek and Latin rhetoricians and poets, and he would listen to the orators of the Forum, as they read aloud the pleas which they had already delivered before himself or the city-prefects. And he used to preside at contests, particularly at the Hercules-contest, which was held in honour of Alexander the Great.[4]

tian. Nothing further is known of the Agon Herculeus; to judge from the name it was athletic in character.

5 Solos[1] post meridiem vel matutinis horis idcirco numquam aliquos videbat, quod ementitos de se multa 6 cognoverat, speciatim Verconium Turinum. quem cum familiarem habuisset, ille omnia vel fingendo sic vendiderat, ut Alexandri quasi stulti hominis et quem ille in potestate haberet et cui multa persuaderet, infamaret imperium; sicque omnibus persuaserat
XXXVI. quod ad nutum suum omnia faceret. denique hac illum arte deprehendit, ut quendam inmitteret, qui a se quiddam publice peteret, ab illo autem occulte quasi praesidium postularet, ut pro eo Alexandro secreto 2 suggereret. quod cum factum esset et Turinus suffragium promisisset dixissetque se quaedam imperatori dixisse, cum nihil dixisset, sed in eo pendere, ut adhuc impetraret, eventum vendens, cumque iterum iussisset Alexander interpellari et Turinus quasi aliud agens nutibus adnuisset neque tamen intus quicquam dixisset, impetratum autem esset quod petebatur, Turinusque ab illo, qui meruerat, fumis venditis ingentia praemia percepisset; accusari eum Alexander iussit probatisque per testes omnibus, et quibus praesentibus quid ac-

[1] *solos* P[1], Lessing, Lenze; *solus* Peter.

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[1] On the expression *fumum vendere* see note to *Pius*, vi. 4.

There were certain men that he always refused to see alone in the afternoon or, for that matter, in the morning hours, because he found out that they had said many things about him falsely, and chief among them was Verconius Turinus. For Turinus had been treated by him as an intimate friend, and all the while he had sold favours under false pretences, with the result that he brought Alexander's rule into disrepute, for he made the Emperor seem a mere fool, whom he, Turinus, had completely in his power and could persuade to do anything; in this way he made all believe that the Emperor did everything at his beck and call. XXXVI. He was finally caught, however, by the following trick: A certain man was deputed to present a petition to the Emperor publicly, but secretly to ask Turinus, as it were for protection, namely, that he would privately plead with Alexander in his behalf. All this was done, and Turinus promised him his support and later told him that he had said certain things to the Emperor (whereas in reality he had said nothing at all), and that it now depended on him alone whether or not the request would be granted; he then offered a favourable decision in return for money. And when Alexander ordered the petitioner to be summoned for a second hearing, Turinus, though apparently occupied in doing something else, signalled to the man by nodding his head, but said nothing to him in the room; then his petition was granted, and Turinus, in return for a favour sold under false pretences,[1] received a huge reward from the successful petitioner. Thereupon Alexander ordered him to be indicted, and when all the charges had been proved by witnesses, of whom some were present and saw what Turinus had

cepisset et quibus audientibus quid promisisset, in foro Transitorio ad stipitem illum adligari[1] praecepit et fumo adposito, quem ex stipulis atque umidis lignis fieri iusserat, necavit praecone dicente, "Fumo punitur
3 qui vendidit fumum." ac ne una tantum causa videretur crudelior fuisse quaesivit diligentissime, antequam eum damnaret, et invenit Turinum saepe et in causis ab utraque parte accepisse, cum eventus venderet, et ab omnibus qui aut praeposituras aut provincias acceperant.

XXXVII. Spectacula frequentavit cum summa donandi parsimonia, dicens et scaenicos et venatores et aurigas sic alendos quasi servos nostros aut venatores
2 aut muliones aut voluptarios. convivium neque opiparum neque nimis parcum sed nitoris summi fuit, ita tamen, ut pura mantelia mitterentur, saepius cocco clavata, aurata vero numquam, cum haec habere Heliogabalus iam coepisset, et ante, ut quidam prae-
3 dicant, Hadrianus habuisset. usus convivii[2] diurnus hic fuit: vini ad totum diem sextarii triginta, panis mundi pondo triginta, panis sequentis ad donandum
4 pondo quinquaginta. nam semper de manu sua ministris convivii et panem et partes aut holerum aut carnis aut leguminum dabat, senili prorsus maturitate
5 patrem familias agens. erant decreta et carnis diversae pondo triginta, erant et gallinacei duo.

[1] *adligari* Jordan, Peter; // *legari* P[1]; *ligari* P corr. [2] *concubii* P.

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[1] See c. xxviii. 6. [2] Cf. c. xxxiii. 3.
[3] In contrast with Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xx. 4-7; xxiv. 3.

received and others heard what he had promised, he issued instructions to bind him to a stake in the Forum Transitorium.[1] Then he ordered a fire of straw and wet logs to be made and had him suffocated by the smoke, and all the while a herald cried aloud, "The seller of smoke is punished by smoke." And in order that it might not be thought that he was too cruel in thus punishing one single offence, he made a careful investigation before sentencing Turinus, and found that when selling a decision in a law-suit he had often taken money from both parties, and that he had also accepted bribes from all who had obtained appointments to commands or provinces.

XXXVII. He used to attend the public spectacles, but he was very niggardly in giving presents,[2] saying that the actors and wild-beast hunters and chariot-drivers should be treated as if they were our slaves, or huntsmen, or grooms, or ministers to our pleasure. His banquets were neither sumptuous nor yet too frugal, but always characterized by the greatest good-taste.[3] None but white napkins were used, though they often had a scarlet stripe; but they were never embroidered in gold, though these had been introduced by Elagabalus, and even before his time, they say, by Hadrian. The daily provision for his table was as follows: thirty pints of wine for a whole day, thirty pounds of bread of the first quality, and fifty pounds of bread of the second quality used for giving away—for he always gave away to his table-servants not only bread but also portions of greens or meat or vegetables, all with his own hand, playing the part of the father of a household with all the maturity of an old man. The provision further included thirty pounds of various meats and two fowls. On feast-days, however,

6 adhibebatur anser diebus festis, kalendis autem Ianuariis et Hilariis Matris Deum et Ludis Apollinaribus et Iovis Epulo et Saturnalibus et huiusmodi festis diebus phasianus, ita ut aliquando et duo pone-
7 rentur additis gallinaceis duobus. leporem cottidie habuit, venationem frequentem, sed eam cum amicis dividebat et iis maxime quos sciebat per se non habere.
8 nec divitibus quicquam talium munerum misit sed ab
9 his semper accepit. habuit cottidie et mulsi[1] sine pipere sextarios quattuor, cum pipere duo, et, ne longum sit omnia inserere, quae Gargilius eius temporis scriptor singillatim persecutus est, omnia et ad modum
10 et ad rationem illi sunt praebita. pomis vehementer indulsit, ita ut secunda mensa illi saepius ponerentur, unde etiam iocus exstitit, non secundam mensam
11 Alexandrum habere sed secundum. ipse cibo plurimo referciebatur, vino neque parce neque copiose, adfatim
12 tamen. frigida semper pura usus, et aestate cum vino rosa condito. quod quidem solum ex diverso genere conditorum Heliogabali tenuerat.

XXXVIII. Et quoniam de lepusculis facta est

[1] *et mulsi* Mommsen; *et mulis* P; *amuli* Scaliger, Peter.

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[1] Regarded as a great dainty; see *Pert.*, xii. 6 and note.

[2] The 25th March, celebrated in much the same manner as the modern Carnival.

[3] The 6th-13th July; they were especially characterized by theatrical performances.

[4] There were two *Epula Jovis*, the 13th Sept. and the 13th Nov., connected respectively with the *Ludi Romani* (4th-19th Sept.) and the *Ludi Plebeii* (4th-17th Nov.). The first of these is doubtless meant here. It was celebrated as the anniversary of the founding of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium, and in the earliest period was regarded as the first day of the year.

a goose was served, and a pheasant[1] on the Kalends of January and also during the Hilaria of the Great Mother,[2] the Games of Apollo,[3] the Feast of Jupiter,[4] the Saturnalia, and other festivals of this kind, and sometimes even a brace was brought in besides the two fowls. He had a hare every day and often game, but this he would share with his friends, chiefly those whom he knew to have none of their own. For he never gave any of these gifts to the rich, though he was always ready to receive presents from them. Every day he had four pints of mead without pepper and two with pepper. In short, lest it be too tedious to give an account of all that he ate, which has been done in great detail by Gargilius,[5] a contemporary writer, everything was served to him in due measure and according to reason. But he was inordinately fond of fruit and usually had it served to him as dessert; hence arose the witticism that Alexander had, not a second course, but a second meal. He himself would consume the greatest amount of food and he would drink wine neither too sparingly nor yet in large quantities, but nevertheless in fair amounts. He always drank pure cold water as well, but in summer he would add wine flavoured with essence of roses—the only one of Elagabalus's various kinds of flavourings[6] that he retained.

XXXVIII. Now—since mention has been made

[5] Called Gargilius Martialis in *Prob.*, ii. 7. He is probably to be identified with the Q. Gargilius Martialis who wrote a treatise on husbandry, including also an account of the medicinal use of farm-products and of veterinary art. Parts of it have been preserved in the so-called *Medicina Plinii*, a manual of medicine dating from the fourth century.

[6] See *Heliog.*, xix. 5; xxi. 6; xxiv. 1.

mentio, quod ille leporem cottidie haberet, iocus poeticus emersit, idcirco quod multi septem diebus pulchros esse dicunt eos qui leporem comederint, ut Martialis etiam epigramma significat, quod contra quandam Gelliam scripsit huiusmodi:

2 "Cum leporem mittis, semper mihi, Gellia, mandas:
'septem formosus, Marce, diebus eris.'
si verum dicis, si verum, Gellia, mandas,
edisti numquam, Gellia, tu leporem."

3 sed hos versus Martialis in eam quae deformis esset composuit, poeta vero temporum Alexandri haec in eum dixit:

4 "Pulchrum quod vides esse nostrum regem,
pulchrum[1] quod Syra detulit propago,[2]
venatus facit et lepus comesus,
de quo continuum capit leporem."

5 hos versus cum ad eum quidam ex amicis detulisset, respondisse ille dicitur Graecis versibus in hanc sententiam:

6 "Pulchrum quod putas esse vestrum regem[3]
vulgari, miserande, de fabella,
si verum putas esse, non irascor.
tantum tu[4] comedas velim lepusclos,
ut fias animi malis repulsis,
pulchris ne invideas livore mentis.

[1] *pulchrum* om. in P. [2] *quod Syrum detulit propago* P; *quem Syrum tetulit propago*, <*pulchrum*> Peiper, Peter[2]; <*pulchrum*> *quod sua detulit propago* Damsté. [3] *putas esse* <*uestrum*> *regem* Egnatius, Peter; *putasse se regem* P. [4] *tu* ins. by Egnatius and Peter; om. in P.

[1] Martial, v. 29, with several variations. The superstition is mentioned also in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxviii. 260.

of hares—his custom of having a hare every day gave rise to a witticism in verse; for many say that those who have eaten a hare are beautiful for the next seven days, and this belief is also indicated in an epigram of Martial's directed at a woman named Gellia as follows[1]:

"When you send me a hare, dear Gellia, you send
me a message plain:
'For the next seven days, dear Marcus, a beautiful
man you'll remain.'
If you tell me the truth, dear Gellia, if you send me
a promise fair,
You have never yourself, dear Gellia, *you* have never
eaten a hare."

These verses, however, Martial wrote to a woman who was ugly, but a poet of Alexander's time wrote to him the following:

"If you see our king is fair,
Fair the child of Syrian race,
'Tis the hunt and meals of hare
Give him everlasting grace."

And when one of his friends brought him these lines, he replied, it is said, in Greek verses to the following effect:

"Since you think your king is fair,
Fool, by vulgar stories taught,
I'm not angry—if you're right.
But I wish *you*'d eat a hare
And remove your ugly thought;
Cease to hate the fair with spite."

XXXIX. Cum amicos militares habuisset, ut usum Traiani, quem ille post secundam mensam potandi usque ad quinque pocula instituerat, reservaret, unum tantum poculum amicis exhibebat in honorem Alexandri Magni, idque brevius, nisi si quis, quod licebat, maius libere postulasset. usus Veneris in eo moderatus fuit, exsoletorum ita expers, ut, quemadmodum supra diximus, legem de his auferendis ferre voluerit.

Horrea in omnibus regionibus publica fecit, ad quae conferrent bona ii qui privatas custodias non haberent. balnea omnibus regionibus addidit, quae forte non habebant. nam hodieque[1] multa dicuntur Alexandri. fecit et domos pulcherrimas easdemque amicis suis maxime integris viris donavit.

Vectigalia publica in id contraxit, ut qui decem aureos sub Heliogabalo praestiterant tertiam partem aurei praestarent, hoc est tricensimam partem. tuncque primum semisses aureorum formati sunt, tunc etiam, cum ad tertiam aurei partem vectigal desidisset, tremisses, dicente Alexandro etiam quartarios futuros, quod minus non posset. quos quidem iam formatos in moneta detinuit, exspectans ut, si

[a] *dieque* P.

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[1] Trajan had the reputation of being a hard drinker; see *Hadr.*, iii. 3; Dio, lxviii. 7, 4; Victor, *Caes.*, xiii. 4.

[2] See c. xxiv. 4.

[3] Fourteen in number; see note to *Heliog.*, xx. 3.

[4] This statement can hardly be literally correct, but that the taxes were reduced seems evident from c. xvi. 1 and xxxii. 5.

[5] His attempts to improve the currency are attested by copper coins with the legends *Restitutor Mon(etae)* and

XXXIX. When he had with him friends of the military class he would observe a custom which Trajan had introduced,[1] namely, that of drinking after the dessert as many as five goblets; he, however, would serve his friends one goblet only, to be drunk in honour of Alexander the Great, and it was a rather small one too, though it was always permissible to ask openly for a larger one. In the enjoyment of love he was temperate, and he would have nothing to do with catamites, in fact, he even wished to have a law passed, as I have said before,[2] doing away with them altogether.

He built a public store-house in each region of the city,[3] and to this anyone who had no store-house of his own might take his property. He built a bath, too, in every region which happened to have none, and even today many of these are still called Alexander's. And he also constructed magnificent dwellings and presented them to his friends, especially to the upright.

The taxes paid to the state were so reduced that those whose tax under Elagabalus had amounted to ten aurei now paid a third of an aureus, a thirtieth, that is, of their former tax.[4] Then for the first time half-aurei were minted, and also third-aurei,[5] after the tax had been reduced to this amount; and Alexander declared that quarter-aurei too would be issued—for he could not issue a smaller coin. And he did indeed coin these, but kept them in the mint,

Mon(eta) Restituta; see Cohen, iv², p. 453 f., nos. 516-518, and p. 420, no. 180. The aureus and half-aureus of Alexander are well known, but no third-aureus is known prior to the time of Valerian (253 A.D.); see Mommsen, *Röm. Münzwesen*, p. 776.

vectigal contrahere potuisset, et eosdem ederet; sed cum non potuisset per publicas necessitates, conflari eos iussit et tremisses tantum solidosque formari. 9 formas binarias, ternarias et quaternarias et denarias etiam atque amplius usque ad libriles quoque et centenarias, quas Heliogabalus invenerat, resolvi praecipit neque in usu cuiusquam versari; atque ex eo his 10 materiae nomen inditum est, cum diceret plus largiendi hanc esse imperatori causam, si, cum multos solidos minores dare possit, dans decem vel amplius una forma triginta et quinquaginta et centum dare cogeretur.

XL. Vestes sericas ipse raras habuit; holosericam numquam induit, subsericam numquam donavit. 2 divitiis nullius invidit. pauperes iuvit. honoratos, quos pauperes vere non per luxuriam aut simulationem vidit, semper multis commodis auxit, agris, servis, 3 animalibus, gregibus, ferramentis rusticis. in thesauris vestem numquam nisi annum esse passus est eamque statim expendi iussit. omnem vestem quam donavit 4 ipse perspexit. omne aurum, omne argentum idque

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[1] Aurei. The name *solidus* was applied to the aureus from the period of Constantine onward.

[2] *i.e.* 50 aurei; at this time 1 lb. gold = 50 aurei; see Cohen, i², Intro., p. xviii. It is difficult to believe that such huge gold pieces were ever coined.

[3] On the use and prohibition of silk garments see notes to *Heliog.*, xxvi., 1.

[4] The emperor's robes, because of their great value, were regarded as forming part of the imperial treasury, and, accordingly, were under the charge of the *procurator thesaurorum* (this is probably the meaning of the term *procurator aerarii maioris* in *Diod.*, iv. 1); see Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, p. 307 f., n. 3. The manufacture of these robes constituted a separate department of the imperial administration under the

waiting to issue them until he could reduce the tax; however, when this proved impossible because of the needs of the state, he had them melted down and issued only third-aurei and solidi.[1] He also melted down the pieces of two, three, four, and ten aurei, and the coins of larger denominations even up to the value of a pound [2] and of a hundred aurei—which had been introduced by Elagabalus—and so withdrew them from circulation. The coins made therefrom were designated only by the name of the metal itself, for, as he himself said, it would result in the emperor's giving too generous largesses, if, when it were possible for him to bestow many pieces of smaller value, he should be compelled to bestow thirty or fifty or a hundred by giving the value of ten or more in a single piece.

XL. He himself had very few silk garments, and he never wore one that was wholly silk or gave away one that was even partly silk.[3] He envied no man his wealth. He gave aid to the poor; and in the case of men who had held public office, when he saw that their poverty was genuine, and not simulated or due to extravagance, he would always help them with many useful gifts, such as lands, slaves, draught-animals, herds, and farm-implements. He always kept his robes in his treasury [4] for a year [5] and then ordered them to be given away at once. Every garment that he gave away he inspected in person.

name of *ratio purpurarum*. A procurator of Alexander charged with its conduct is commemorated in an inscription from Corinth; see *C.I.L.*, iii. 536. In 383 the manufacture of purple robes became an imperial monopoly; see *Cod. Justinianus*, iv. 40, 1.

[5] In contrast with Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xxxii. 1.

5 frequenter adpendit. donavit et ocreas et bracas et
6 calciamenta inter vestimenta militaria. purpurae clarissimae non ad usum suum sed ad matronarum, si quae aut possent aut vellent, certe ad vendendum gravissimus exactor fuit, ita ut Alexandriana purpura hodieque dicatur quae vulgo Probiana dicitur, idcirco quod Aurelius Probus baphiis praepositus id genus
7 muricis repperisset. usus est ipse chlamyde saepe coccinea. in urbe tamen semper togatus fuit et in
8 Italiae urbibus. praetextam et pictam togam numquam nisi consul accepit, et eam quidem quam de Iovis templo sumptam alii quoque accipiebant aut
9 praetores aut consules. accepit praetextam etiam cum sacra faceret, sed loco pontificis maximi non im-
10 peratoris. boni linteaminis [1] adpetitor fuit, et quidem puri, dicens : " Si lineae idcirco sunt ut [2] nihil asperum
11 habeant, quid opus est purpura in linea ? " aurum autem mitti et dementiam iudicabat, cum ad [3] asperitatem ad-

[1] *linteaminis* Salm., Peter; *linae* P[1]; *linaei* P corr. [2] *ut* om. in P. [3] *ad* om. in P.

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[1] The *procurator baphii* is mentioned in the *Codex Justinianus* and other documents of the later empire.

[2] See c. xlii. 1. On this type of cloak see notes to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5.

[3] So also Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius; see *Hadr.*, xxii. 8; *Marc.*, xxvii. 3.

[4] On the triumphal toga see note to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5.

He would give away all his gold and silver, and very frequently too. He would also give away equipment for the troops, such as leggings, trousers, and boots. He would always insist most rigorously on having purple of the brightest hue, not for his own use but for that of matrons, in case they were able or eager to have it, and in any case with a view to having it put on sale; and even today that purple is still called Alexandrian, which is commonly spoken of as Probian merely because Aurelius Probus, the superintendent of the dye-works,[1] invented this kind of dye. He himself usually wore a scarlet cloak,[2] but when in Rome and the cities of Italy he was always dressed in the toga.[3] On the other hand, he never assumed the bordered or the gold-embroidered toga[4] except when consul, and then it was always the one which was brought out from the temple of Jupiter and assumed by all the other praetors and consuls.[5] He also assumed the bordered toga when he performed sacrifices, but then only as pontifex maximus, and not as emperor. He was always eager to get good linen, without any purple in it, for he used to say, "If these garments are made of linen in order to prevent their being rough, what is the use of having purple in the linen?" And as for inserting gold threads, he deemed it madness, since in addition to being rough they also made the garment stiff. He always wore bands on his legs,[6] and he used white

[5] See note to *Gord.*, iv. 4.

[6] Woollen or linen bands wrapped about the calves as a protection against the cold. Augustus wore them in winter (Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxxxii.), but in the first century they were considered as suitable for invalids only; see Quintilian, xi. 3, 144.

deretur rigor. fasciis semper usus est. bracas albas habuit non coccineas, ut prius solebant.

XLI. Gemmarum quod fuit vendidit et aurum in aerarium contulit, dicens gemmas viris usui non esse, matronas autem regias contentas esse debere uno reticulo atque inauribus et bacato monili et corona, cum qua sacrificium facerent, et unico pallio auro sparso et cyclade, quae sex uncias auri plus non 2 haberet. prorsus censuram suis temporibus de propriis moribus gessit. imitati sunt eum magni viri et 3 uxorem eius matronae pernobiles. aulicum ministerium in id contraxit, ut essent tot homines in singulis officiis quot necessitas postularet, ita ut annonas non dignitatem acciperent fullones et vestitores et pistores[1] et pincernae et[2] omnes castrenses ministri, quemadmodum pestis illa instituerat, sed annonas 4 singulas vix binas. et cum argentum in ministerio plus ducentis libris non haberet nec[3] plures ministros, argentum et ministros et stromata,[4] quando pascebat, accipiebat ab amicis. quod hodieque fit, si pascatur 5 a praefectis absente imperatore. voluptates scaenicas in convivio numquam habuit, sed summa illi oblectatio

[1] *pistores* Loisel, Peter; *pictores* P, Jordan. [2] *et* om. in P. [3] *nec haec* P. [4] *ministros et stromata* Editor; *mistro mantea* P; *ministeria mutua* Peter[2].

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[1] Tightly-fitting trousers gathered in at the ankle, the characteristic costume of the northern barbarians. These appear clad in them on Trajan's Column and the Arch of Constantine. In the first century they were regarded as a *barbarum tegmen* (so Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii. 20), but the present passage seems to suggest that their use in the third century was not uncommon. Their use in Rome was prohibited at

trousers,[1] not scarlet ones, as had formerly been the custom.

XLI. All the jewels that he had he sold and the proceeds he deposited in the public treasury, saying that men had no need of jewels,[2] and that the women of the royal household should be content with one hair-net, a pair of earrings, a necklace of pearls, a diadem to wear while sacrificing, a single cloak ornamented with gold, and one robe with an embroidered border, not to contain more than six ounces of gold. And in every way he exercised a censorship on the customs of his age quite in keeping with his own manner of life, for illustrious men followed his example and noble matrons that of his wife. The palace-servants were so reduced in number that in each department there were no more than absolute necessity demanded; and the fullers, the tailors, the bakers, the cup-bearers, and all the court-servants were granted rations but not any official rank, as had been the practice of that scourge, and only single rations too, rarely double ones. And since he never had more than two hundred pounds of silver-plate in his table service,[3] and a correspondingly small number of servants, when he gave banquets he would borrow from his friends silver-plate, servants, and couch-covers—a custom still in vogue to-day when the prefects give banquets in the emperor's absence. He never had dramatic entertainments at his banquets,[4] but his

the end of the fourth century; see *Codex Theodosianus*, xiv. 10, 2.

[2] In contrast with Elagabalus; see *Heliog.*, xxiii. 3-4; xxix. 1.

[3] Cf. c. xxxiv. 1.

[4] As Elagabalus had gladiatorial fights; see *Heliog.*, xxv. 7-8.

fuit, ut aut[1] catuli cum porcellulis luderent, aut perdices inter se pugnarent, aut galbulae[2] parvulae sur-
6 sum et deorsum volitarent. habuit sane in Palatio unum genus voluptatis, quo maxime delectatus
7 est et quo sollicitudines publicas sublevabat. nam aviaria instituerat pavonum, phasianorum, gallinaceorum, anatum, perdicum etiam, hisque vehementer oblectabatur, maxime palumborum, quos habuisse ut ad xx milia dicitur, et ne eorum pastus gravaret annonam, servos habuit vectigales, qui eos ex ovis ac pullicenis ac pipionibus alerent.

XLII. Thermis et suis et veterum frequenter cum populo usus est et aestate maxime, balneari veste ad Palatium revertens, hoc solum imperatorium habens
2 quod lacernam cocceam accipiebat. cursorem numquam nisi servum suum, dicens ingenuum currere nisi in sacro certamine non debere, cocos, pistores,[3] fullones et balneatores nonnisi servos suos habuit, ita ut, si
3 quis deesset, emeret. medicus sub eo unus palatinus salarium accepit, ceterique omnes usque ad sex fuerunt, qui annonas binas aut ternas accipiebant, ita ut mundas singulas consequerentur, alias aliter.
4 iudices cum promoveret, exemplo veterum, ut et Cicero docet, et argento et necessariis instruebat, ita ut praesides provinciarum acciperent argenti pondo vicena, mulas[4] senas, mulos binos, equos binos, vestes

[1] *ut aut* Petschenig; *aut* P; *ut* Peter. [2] *galbulae* Salm., Peter[1]; *gacplae* P; *auicolae* Madvig, Peter[2]. [3] *pistores* Peter; *picatores* P. [4] *uicena*, *mulas* Salm., Peter; *uicenam filas* P.

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[1] Cf. c. xliv. 4.
[2] *In Verrem*, Act. II., iv. 5, 9.

chief amusement consisted in having young dogs play with little pigs, or partridges fight with one another, or tiny little birds fly about to and fro. He did have one kind of amusement in the Palace which gave him the greatest pleasure and afforded him relief from the cares of state; for he arranged aviaries of pea-fowl, pheasants, hens, ducks, and partridges, and from these he derived great amusement, but most of all from his doves, of which he had, it is said, as many as twenty thousand. And in order that the food for these might not become a burden to the grain-supply, he had slaves to provide the necessary income, who maintained the doves on the proceeds of the eggs and the squabs and young birds.

XLII. He frequently used the public baths in company with the populace, especially in summer, using both those built by himself and the older ones, and he would return to the Palace in his bathing-costume, retaining only this much of the emperor, namely, that he put on a scarlet cloak. As runners he had none but slaves, for he said that a free-born man ought not to run except in a contest held in honour of a god; and he had none but slaves as cooks, bakers, fullers, and bath-keepers, buying more if there was any lack. During his reign only one palace-physician received a salary,[1] while all the others, of whom there were never more than six, received double or triple rations, one being of the finest kind, the others of different quality. Whenever he advanced judicial officers he provided them, after the custom of the ancients (described also by Cicero[2]), with silver and all needed equipment, providing a provincial governor with twenty pounds of silver, six she-mules, a pair of mules, a pair of horses,

forenses binas, domesticas binas, balneares singulas, aureos centenos, cocos singulos, muliones singulos et, si uxores non haberent, singulas concubinas, quot sine his esse non possent, reddituri deposita administratione mulas, mulos, equos, muliones et cocos, cetera sibi habituri, si bene egissent, in quadruplum reddituri, si male, praeter condemnationem aut peculatus aut repetundarum.

XLIII. Leges innumeras sanxit. carrucas Romae et raedas senatoribus omnibus ut argentatas haberent, permisit, interesse Romanae dignitatis putans, ut his
2 tantae urbis senatores uterentur. consules quoscumque vel ordinarios vel suffectos creavit, ex senatus sententia nominavit, sumptum eorum contrahens, et
3 nundinia veteri ex ordine instituit.[1] quaestores candidatos ex sua pecunia iussit munera populo dare, sed ita ut post quaesturam praeturas acciperent et
4 deinde provincias regerent. arcarios vero instituit, qui de arca fisci ederent munera eademque parciora. habuit in animo, ut munera per totum annum dispergeret, ut per triginta dies munus populo daretur,
5 sed cur id non fecerit in occulto habetur. Capitolium

[1] *instituit uel dies uel tempora* P ; *uel . . . tempora* del. by Cas. and Peter.

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[1] See *Heliog.*, xxix. 1 and note.

[2] See note to *Carac.*, iv. 8.

[3] See note to c. xxviii. 1.

[4] The *quaestores candidati principis* were named directly by the emperor without the formality of an election. Both these and the quaestors elected in the ordinary way were obliged to provide public games at their own expense. According to the present passage, Alexander limited this obligation to the *quaestores candidati* and provided the others (the

two garments for use in the forum, two for use at home, and one for the bath, one hundred aurei, one cook, one muleteer, and a concubine in the case of a man who had no wife and could not live without a woman. Of these, the mules and the horses, the muleteer and the cook were to be returned when the governor laid down his office; the rest, however, he might keep if he had governed well, but if ill, he must return them fourfold and also undergo the punishment imposed for embezzlement or extortion.

XLIII. He enacted laws without number. He permitted every senator to use a carriage in the city and to have a coach ornamented with silver,[1] thinking that it enhanced the dignity of Rome that these should be used by the senators of so great a city. In appointing consuls, either regular or substitute,[2] he always asked for the opinion of the senate; he reduced their expenses, furthermore, and arranged for the days of their entry into office[3] in accordance with the ancient system. He issued an order that a quaestor who was the nominee of the emperor should give games to the people at his own expense,[4] but with the understanding that after the quaestorship he was to receive a praetorship and then govern a province; ordinary quaestors, on the other hand, were authorized to pay for their games—which were less lavish—out of the revenues of the privy-purse. And it was his intention to have the games given at regular intervals throughout the whole year, in order that the people might have a spectacle every thirty days, but this plan, for some unknown reason, was never carried out. Every seven days, when he was in the city, he

quaestores arcarii) with funds from the privy-purse; see Mommsen, *C.I.L.*, i², p. 336, and *Staatsrecht*, ii³, p. 534 f.

septimo quoque die, cum in urbe esset, ascendit,
6 templa frequentavit. Christo templum facere voluit eumque inter deos recipere. quod et Hadrianus cogitasse fertur, qui templa in omnibus civitatibus sine simulacris iusserat fieri, quae hodieque, idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani, quae ille
7 ad hoc parasse dicebatur. sed prohibitus est ab iis qui consulentes sacra reppererant omnes Christianos futuros, si id fecisset,[1] et templa reliqua deserenda.

XLIV. In iocis dulcissimus fuit, in fabulis amabilis, in conviviis comis, ita ut quisque posceret quod vellet.
2 ad aurum colligendum attentus, ad servandum cautus, ad inveniendum sollicitus, sed sine cuiusquam excidio.
3 Syrum se dici nolebat sed a maioribus Romanum et stemma generis depinxerat, quo ostendebatur genus eius a Metellis descendere.
4 Rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, haruspicibus, mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit et auditoria decrevit et discipulos cum annonis pau-
5 perum filios modo ingenuos dari iussit. etiam in provinciis oratoribus forensibus multum detulit, plerisque etiam annonas dedit, quos constitisset gratis agere.

[1] In P the portion of the *vita* which begins with *fecisset* and ends with *de Isauria* in c. lviii. 1 is transposed to the *Vita Maximinorum*, v. 3, where it is inserted after *occiso Heliogabalo ubi primum;* this portion is retained in its proper place in the Σ codices; see Intro. to Vol. I., p. xxxiii. f.

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[1] Cf. c. xxii. 4 and note.
[2] See *Hadr.*, xiii. 6 and note.
[3] He and his mother were criticized for this; see note to c. xiv. 7.
[4] Cf. c. xxviii. 7.
[5] This was, of course, fictitious.

went up to the Capitolium, and he visited the other temples frequently. He also wished to build a temple to Christ and give him a place among the gods [1]—a measure, which, they say, was also considered by Hadrian. For Hadrian ordered a temple without an image to be built in every city, and because these temples, built by him with this intention, so they say, are dedicated to no particular deity, they are called today merely Hadrian's temples.[2] Alexander, however, was prevented from carrying out his purpose, because those who examined the sacred victims ascertained that if he did, all men would become Christians and the other temples would of necessity be abandoned.

XLIV. He was very kindly in his jests, agreeable in his conversation, and generous at his banquets, so much so, in fact, that anyone might ask for whatever he wished. He was diligent in amassing gold,[3] careful in keeping it, and zealous in procuring it, yet he never put any one to death. He did not like to be called a Syrian [4] and asserted that his ancestors were Romans, and he had his family-tree depicted, showing that he was descended from the Metelli.[5]

To rhetoricians, grammarians, physicians, soothsayers, astrologers, engineers, and architects he paid regular salaries and assigned lecture-rooms, and he ordered rations to be given to their pupils, provided these were sons of poor men and free-born. Also in the provinces he granted many privileges to pleaders in the courts, and to some, whom he appointed to plead cases without remuneration, he even gave rations. The laws governing literary contests [6] he

[6] See c. xxxv. 4 and note.

6 leges agonis[1] firmavit easque etiam ipse diligentissime
7 servavit. theatralia spectacula saepe obiit. Theatrum
8 Marcelli reficere voluit. multis civitatibus, quae post terrae motus deformes erant, sumptus ad instaurationem operum et publicorum et privatorum ex vecti-
9 galibus[2] dedit. in templis sane numquam praeter quattuor aut quinque argenti libras auri ne guttulam quidem aut bratteolam posuit, susurrans versum Flacci Persii :

"In sanctis quid facit aurum ?"

XLV. Expeditiones bellicas habuit, de quibus ordine suo edisseram. primum tamen eius consuetudinem di-
2 cam de rebus vel tacendis vel prodendis. tacebantur secreta bellorum, itinerum autem dies publice proponebantur, ita ut edictum penderet ante menses duos, in quo scriptum esset, "Illa die, illa hora ab urbe sum exiturus et, si di voluerint, in prima mansione mansurus," deinde per ordinem mansiones, deinde stativae, deinde ubi annona esset accipienda, et id quidem eo
3 usque quamdiu ad fines barbaricos veniretur. iam[3] enim inde tacebatur, et omnes operam dabant[4] ne
4 dispositionem Romanam barbari scirent. certum est autem eum numquam id quod proposuerat fefellisse, cum diceret nolle ab aulicis suas vendi dispositiones, quod factum fuerat sub Heliogabalo, cum ab eunuchis

[1] *agonis* Mommsen ; *agnos* P, susp. by Peter. [2] *pecuniam ex uectigalibus* P ; *pecuniam* del. by Salm. and Peter. [3] *et iam* P. [4] *operam dabant* Editor ; *ambulabant* P, susp. by Peter ; *et omnes amb.* del. by Jordan.

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[1] See c. xxiv. 3 and note.
[2] Persius, *Saturae*, ii. 69. The MSS. of Persius read *sancto*.
[3] See c. l. f.

made more stringent, always observing them most scrupulously himself, and he frequently attended performances in the theatre. He planned to repair the Theatre of Marcellus,[1] and in many cities, which had been rendered unsightly by earthquakes, he made an appropriation from the public revenues to pay for the restoration of both public and private buildings. But to temples he never made donations of more than four or five pounds of silver, and of gold not even a mite or the thinnest leaf, and he was even heard to murmur a line of Persius Flaccus[2]:

"What place has gold in sanctuaries?"

XLV. He conducted military expeditions, which I shall describe in their proper place.[3] But first I will tell of his way of dealing with matters to be kept secret or announced publicly. He always kept secret the plan for a campaign, but announced openly the length of each day's march; and he would even issue a proclamation two months beforehand, in which was written, "On such and such a day, and at such and such an hour, I shall depart from the city, and, if the gods so will, I shall tarry at the first halting-place." Then were listed in order all the halting-places, next the camping-stations, and next the places where provisions were to be found, for the whole length of the march as far as the boundaries of the barbarians' country. From here on everything was kept secret and all took every precaution to keep the barbarians in ignorance of the plans of the Romans. It is certain, moreover, that he never practised any deception in anything that he announced publicly, for he declared that he would not allow the palace-officials to sell his plans, as had been done under Elagabalus,

5 omnia venderentur. quod genus hominum idcirco secreta omnia in aula esse cupiunt, ut soli aliquid scire videantur et habeant unde vel gratiam vel pecuniam requirant.

6 Et quia de publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit—ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare vel praepositos [1] facere vel procuratores, id est rationales, ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis probaret manifestis rebus, si non probasset, subiret poenam 7 capitis. dicebatque grave esse, cum id Christiani et Iudaei facerent in praedicandis sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunae hominum committerentur et capita.

XLVI. adsessoribus salaria instituit, quamvis saepe dixerit eos esse promovendos qui per se rem publicam gerere possent, non per adsessores, addens militares habere suas administrationes, habere litteratos, et ideo unumquemque hoc agere debere quod nosset.

2 Thesauros reppertos iis qui reppererant donavit et, si multi essent, addidit his eos quos in suis habebat 3 officiis. cogitabat secum et descriptum habebat

[1] *propositos* P, Peter.

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[1] See c. xxiii. 4-7.

[2] The term *rationalis*, originally applied to the official (also called *a rationibus*) who had the supervision of the privy-purse at Rome, was in the later third and the fourth centuries used generally, though not officially, to designate any provincial procurator; see *Maxim.*, xiv. 1; *Gord.*, vii. 2.

[3] On his interest in Judaism and Christianity see c. xxii. 4 and note.

[4] See *Pesc. Nig.*, vii. 3-6 and notes.

[5] On laws dealing with treasure-trove see *Hadr.*, xviii. 6 and note.

when everything was sold by the eunuchs [1]—a class of men who desire that all the palace-affairs should be kept secret, solely in order that they alone may seem to have knowledge of them and thus possess the means of obtaining influence or money.

Now since we happen to have made mention of his practice of announcing his plans publicly—whenever Alexander desired to name any man governor of a province, or make him an officer in the army, or appoint him a procurator, that is to say, a revenue-officer,[2] he always announced his name publicly and charged the people, in case anyone wished to bring an accusation against him, to prove it by irrefutable evidence, declaring that anyone who failed to prove his charge should suffer capital punishment. For, he used to say, it was unjust that, when Christians and Jews observed this custom in announcing the names of those who were to be ordained priests,[3] it should not be similarly observed in the case of governors of provinces, to whose keeping were committed the fortunes and lives of men. XLVI. Furthermore, the assistants of the governors were granted regular salaries,[4] though he often said that only those men ought to be promoted who could carry on the administration of the state by their own efforts and did not need the aid of assistants, adding that soldiers had their own particular sphere, and scholars theirs, and that accordingly it was the duty of every man to do whatever he could.

Treasure-trove he always gave to the finders,[5] and if these were numerous he would include among them the officials of his various departments. He always remembered and wrote down the names of those to whom he had granted some favour, and if he knew

cui quid praestitisset, et si quos sciret vel nihil petisse vel non multum, unde sumptus suos augerent, vocabat eos et dicebat: "Quid est, cur nihil petis? an me tibi vis fieri debitorem? pete, ne privatus de me queraris." dabat autem haec in beneficiis quae famam eius non laederent: bona punitorum sed numquam cum auro, argento vel gemmis, nam id omne in aerarium reponebat; dabat praeposituras locorum civilium non militum, dabat eas administrationes quae ad procurationes pertinerent. rationales cito mutabat, ita ut nemo nisi annum compleret, eosque, et[1] si boni essent, oderat, malum necessarium vocans. praesides vero proconsules et legatos numquam fecit ad beneficium sed ad iudicium vel suum vel senatus.

XLVII. Milites expeditionis tempore sic disposuit, ut in mansionibus annonas acciperent nec portarent cibaria decem et septem, ut solent, dierum nisiin barbarico, quamvis et illic mulis eosdem atque camelis adiuverit, dicens milites se magis servare quam se ipsum, quod salus publica in his esset. aegrotantes ipse visitavit per tentoria milites etiam ultimos et carpentis vexit et[2] omnibus necessariis adiuvit. et si

[1] *et* om. in P. [2] *et* om. in P.

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[1] *i.e.* the holding of some public office.
[2] Cf. *Hadr.*, vii. 7; xviii. 3; *Avid. Cass.*, vii. 6.
[3] See notes to c. xxiv. 1 and *Hadr.*, iii. 9.
[4] So also Ammianus Marcellinus xvii. 9, 2; *plus dimidiati mensis cibaria*, Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.*, ii. 37.

that there was a man who had not asked for something, or at any rate not much, which would cause his expenses to increase,[1] he would call him and say, "Why is it, that you do not ask for some present? Is it because you wish me to be your debtor? Ask for something, then, that you may not, by remaining a private citizen, have cause to complain of me." When he granted favours, moreover, he would grant those which would not damage his reputation, such as, for instance, the property of those who had suffered punishment, but never the gold or the silver or the jewels, for all these he deposited in the public treasury[2]; or he would grant civil offices, but never military, or else those posts which had to do with the collection of the revenues. His revenue-officers he would change frequently, and none held office for longer than a year; and even if the officers were upright, he detested them and referred to them as a necessary evil. And when he appointed governors of provinces, proconsuls, or legates,[3] it was never as a favour but solely on the basis of his own judgment or that of the senate.

XLVII. During his campaigns he made such careful provision for the soldiers that they were furnished with supplies at each halting-place and were never compelled to carry food for the usual period of seventeen days,[4] except in the enemy's country. And even then he lightened their burdens by using mules and camels, saying that he was more concerned for the soldiers' welfare than for his own, for on them depended the safety of the state. When any of the soldiers were ill he would visit them personally in their tents, even those of the lowest rank, and have them carried in carts and provided with every

forte gravius laborassent, per civitates et agros patribus familias honestioribus [1] et sanctioribus matronis eos distribuebat, reddens impendia quae fecissent, sive convaluissent illi seu perissent.

XLVIII. Cum quidam Ovinius Camillus senator antiquae familiae delicatissimus rebellare voluisset tyrannidem adfectans, eique nuntiatum esset ac statim probatum, ad Palatium eum rogavit eique gratias egit, quod curam rei publicae, quae recusantibus bonis im-
2 poneretur, sponte reciperet. deinde ad senatum processit et timentem ac tantae conscientiae tabe confectum participem imperii appellavit, in Palatium recepit, convivio adhibuit, ornamentis imperialibus et
3 melioribus quam ipse utebatur adfecit. et cum expeditio barbarica esset nuntiata, vel ipsum si vellet
4 ire vel ut secum proficisceretur hortatus est. et cum ipse pedes iter faceret, illum invitavit ad laborem, quem post quinque milia cunctantem equo sedere iussit, cumque post duas mansiones equo etiam
5 fatigatus esset, carpento imposuit. hoc quoque seu timore seu vere respuentem, abdicantem quin etiam imperium et mori paratum dimisit commendatumque militibus, a quibus Alexander unice amabatur, tutum
6 ad villas suas ire praecepit. in quibus diu vixit, sed post iussu imperatoris occisus est, et quod [2] ille militaris

[1] *honestioribus* Salm., Peter; *hominibus* P. [2] *quod et* P, Peter.

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[1] Otherwise unknown.

necessity; and if by any chance they grew worse, he would quarter them on the most upright householders or highly esteemed matrons in the cities and the country-districts, paying back the expenses which they incurred, whether they recovered or died.

XLVIII. Once, when a certain Ovinius Camillus,[1] a senator of ancient family but very pleasure-loving, made plans to rebel and seize the throne, and this was reported to Alexander and forthwith proved, he summoned him to the Palace and thanked him for voluntarily offering to assume the responsibility for the state, which had been imposed on many a good man against his will. Then he proceeded to the senate and greeted as partner in the imperial power this trembling wretch now overcome with weakness at the realization of his guilt. Next, he conducted him to the Palace, invited him to a banquet, and presented him with the imperial insignia, of a better quality, even, than his own. Later, when an expedition against the barbarians was announced, he urged him either to set forth on his own responsibility, did he so desire, or to proceed in company with himself. And since he himself travelled on foot, he invited Camillus to share his labours, but when the man fell behind after five miles, he bade him ride a horse, and again, when after two days' journey he was tired out by riding, he had him put in a carriage. And when Camillus refused even this, either through fear or in sincerity, and even resigned his power and made ready to die, Alexander sent him away, commending him to the soldiers, by whom he himself was singularly beloved, and bidding him go in safety to his country-estate. Here he lived for a long time, but afterwards he was put to death by the Emperor's

esset, a militibus occisus est.[1] scio vulgum hanc rem quam contexui Traiani putare, sed neque in vita eius id Marius Maximus ita exposuit neque Fabius Marcellinus neque Aurelius Verus neque Statius Valens, qui omnem eius vitam in litteras miserunt.
7 contra autem et Septimius et Acholius et Encolpius ceterique vitae scriptores[2] de hoc talia praedicaverunt.
8 quod ideo addidi, ne quis vulgi magis famam sequeretur quam historiam, quae rumore utique vulgi verior reperitur.

XLIX. Honores iuris gladii numquam vendi passus est, dicens: "Necesse est, ut qui emit et vendat. ego non patior mercatores potestatum et eos quos, si rapiant,[3] damnare non possim. erubesco enim punire
2 illum hominem, qui emit et vendidit." pontificatus et quindecimviratus et auguratus codicillares fecit, ita ut in senatu allegarentur.
3 Dexippus dixit uxorem eum cuiusdam Macrini filiam duxisse, eundemque ab eo Caesarem nuncupatum.
4 verum cum vellet insidiis occidere Alexandrum

[1] *et a militibus occisus esset* P; del. by Peter[2]. [2] *uitae scriptores ceterique* P, Peter[1]; *uitae scriptores* del. by Peter[2]. [3] *rapiant* Madvig; *pariant* P, Peter.

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[1] Cited also in *Prob.*, ii. 7, but otherwise unknown and perhaps apocryphal. He is possibly to be identified with the Valerius Marcellinus of *Max.-Balb.*, iv. 5.

[2] Verus and Valens are otherwise unknown.

[3] See c. xiv. 6; xvii. 1-2 and note.

[4] *i.e.* the right to inflict capital punishment, which in theory belonged only to the emperor or the senate. In the third century this right was granted by the emperor to all provincial governors; see Ulpian in *Digesta*, i. 18, 6, 8.

[5] See note to c. xxii. 5.

[6] P. Herennius Dexippus of Athens. His *Chronicle*, frequently cited in the later biographies of the *Historia Augusta*,

command, and, because he was a soldier, he was put to death by soldiers. The common crowd, I know, ascribes this incident, which I have just related, to Trajan, but Marius Maximus has not published it in his Life of Trajan, nor yet Fabius Marcellinus[1] or Aurelius Verus or Statius Valens,[2] all of whom have written accounts of Trajan's entire life. On the other hand, Septimius and Acholius and Encolpius[3] and his other biographers have related just such stories as this about Alexander, and I have included this one here in order that no one may accept common rumour rather than real history, which at least will be found more authentic than the talk of the crowd.

XLIX. The right of wearing the sword[4] he would never allow to be sold, for he said: "It must inevitably happen that he who buys will also sell, and I will not tolerate traffickers in offices or men on whom, if they should plunder, I could not impose sentence. For I blush at the thought that a man who buys and sells should be able to inflict punishment." The office of pontifex and also membership in the College of Fifteen[5] and the augurship he bestowed by imperial mandate, but always on condition that the appointment be ratified by the senate.

Dexippus[6] has related that Alexander married the daughter of a certain Macrinus[7] and that he gave this man the name of Caesar; moreover, that when Macrinus tried to kill him by treachery, Alexander,

began apparently with the mythical period and extended down to 268 A.D. He held important municipal offices in Athens, and about 267 A.D., with the aid of a hastily collected army, he repelled an invasion of the Goths (the Heruli); see *Gall.*, xiii. 8.

[7] See note to c. xx. 3.

Macrinus, detecta factione et ipsum interemptum et
5 uxorem abiectam. idem dicit patruum fuisse Antoninum Heliogabalum Alexandri, non sororis eius-
6 dem matris[1] filium. cum Christiani quendam locum, qui publicus fuerat, occupassent, contra popinarii dicerent sibi eum deberi, rescripsit melius esse, ut quemadmodumcumque illic deus colatur, quam popinariis dedatur.

L. Cum igitur tantus ac talis imperator domi ac foris esset, iniit Parthicam expeditionem, quam tanta disciplina, tanta reverentia sui egit, ut non milites sed
2 senatores transire diceres. quacumque iter legiones faciebant, tribuni taciti, centuriones verecundi, milites amabiles erant, ipsum vero ob haec tot et
3 tanta bona provinciales ut deum suspiciebant. iam vero ipsi milites iuvenem imperatorem sic amabant ut fratrem, ut filium, ut parentem, vestiti honeste, calciati etiam ad decorem, armati nobiliter, equis etiam instructi et ephippiis ac frenis decentibus, prorsus ut Romanam rem publicam intellegeret qui-
4 cumque Alexandri vidisset exercitum. elaborabat denique ut dignus illo nomine videretur, immo ut Macedonem illum vinceret, dicebatque inter Romanum Alexandrum et Macedonem multum interesse debere.
5 fecerat denique sibi argyroaspidas et chrysoaspidas,

[1] *sororis eiusdem matris* Cas., Jordan; *uxoris sororis eiusdem* P, Peter.

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[1] An error, for their mothers were sisters.
[2] *i.e.* the Persians; see c. lv. 1.
[3] See c. xii. 5 and note.
[4] This seems to be contradicted by the many mutinies under him; see note to c. xii. 5.

on detecting the plot, not only put Macrinus to death but also divorced his wife. The same writer says also that Antoninus Elagabalus was the uncle of Alexander,[1] and not the son of his mother's sister. And when the Christians took possession of a certain place, which had previously been public property, and the keepers of an eating-house maintained that it belonged to them, Alexander rendered the decision that it was better for some sort of a god to be worshipped there than for the place to be handed to the keepers of an eating-house.

L. And so, after showing himself such a great and good emperor at home and abroad, he embarked upon a campaign against the Parthians[2]; and this he conducted with such discipline[3] and amid such respect, that you would have said that senators, not soldiers, were passing that way. Wherever the legions directed their march, the tribunes were orderly, the centurions modest, and the soldiers courteous, and as for Alexander himself, because of these many great acts of consideration, the inhabitants of the provinces looked up to him as to a god. And the soldiers too loved their youthful emperor like a brother, or a son, or a father[4]; for they were respectably clad, well shod, even to the point of elegance, excellently armed, and even provided with horses and suitable saddles and bridles, so that all who saw the army of Alexander immediately realized the power of Rome. In short, he made every effort to appear worthy of his name and even to surpass the Macedonian king, and he used to say that there should be a great difference between a Roman and a Macedonian Alexander. Finally, he provided himself with soldiers armed with silver shields and with

fecerat et phalangem triginta milium hominum, quos phalangarios vocari iusserat et cum quibus multum fecit in[1] Perside; quae quidem erat ex sex legionibus similium armorum, stipendiorum vero post bellum Persicum maiorum.

LI. Dona regia in templis posuit; gemmas sibi oblatas vendidit, muliebre esse aestimans gemmas possidere, quae neque militi dari possint neque a viro
2 haberi. cum quidam legatus uniones duos uxori eius per ipsum obtulisset magni ponderis et inusitatae men-
3 surae, vendi eos iussit. cum pretium non invenirent, ne exemplum malum a regina nasceretur, si eo uteretur, quod emi non posset, inauribus Veneris eos dicavit.

4 Ulpianum pro tutore habuit, primum repugnante matre deinde gratias agente, quem saepe a militum ira obiectu purpurae suae[2] defendit, atque ideo summus imperator fuit quod eius consiliis praecipue rem publicam rexit.

5 In procinctu atque in expeditionibus apertis papilionibus prandit atque cenavit, cum militarem cibum cunctis videntibus atque gaudentibus sumeret, cir-

[1] *in* Peter[1], Novák; *inter* P; *in terra* Petschenig, Peter[2].
[2] *suae* Jordan, Peter; *summae* P.

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[1] During the Indian campaign of Alexander the Great a picked corps of infantrymen was formed, armed, as an especial mark of honour, with shields decorated with silver; hence they were known as *ἀργυράσπιδες*. A similar corps with shields decorated with gold and hence named *χρυσάσπιδες* is mentioned by Pollux, i. 175.

[2] See note to c. lv. 1. [3] See c. xli. 1.

[4] Notably in his vain attempt to protect Ulpian against

golden,[1] and also a phalanx of thirty thousand men, whom he ordered to be called phalangarii, and with these he won many victories in Persia.[2] This phalanx, as a matter of fact, was formed from six legions, and was armed like the other troops, but after the Persian wars received higher pay.

LI. Gifts presented to him by kings he would always dedicate in a temple, but the jewels that were given to him he sold,[3] maintaining that jewels were for women and that they should not be given to a soldier or be worn by a man. And when one of his legates presented to the Emperor's wife through Alexander himself two pearls of great weight and uncommon size, he ordered them to be sold. But when no offer could be found, fearing that a bad example might be set by the queen, were she to wear jewels too costly to find a buyer, he dedicated them to Venus for earrings.

He always treated Ulpian as his guardian—a fact which called forth, first the opposition of his mother, but, later, her gratitude—and he frequently protected him from the soldiers' ill-will by sheltering him under his own purple robe.[4] In fact, it was because he ruled chiefly in accordance with Ulpian's advice that he was so excellent an emperor.[5]

When in the field or on a campaign he lunched and dined in an open tent and ate the soldiers' ordinary food in the sight of all and greatly to their pleasure[6]; and he used to go about to all the tents and

the praetorian guards, who mutinied in 228 and killed him; see Dio, lxxx. 2, 2; see also c. xii. 5 and note.

[5] See note to c. xiv. 7.

[6] So also c. lxi. 2. This is told also of Hadrian and Pescennius Niger; see *Hadr.*, x. 2; *Pesc. Nig.*, xi. 1.

cumiret prope tota tentoria, a signis abesse neminem
6 pateretur. si quis de via in alicuius possessionem deflexisset, pro qualitate loci aut fustibus subiciebatur in conspectu eius aut virgis aut condemnationi aut, si haec omnia transiret dignitas hominis, gravissimis contumeliis, cum diceret, "Visne hoc in agro tuo
7 fieri quod alteri facis?" clamabatque saepius, quod a quibusdam sive Iudaeis sive Christianis audierat et tenebat, idque per praeconem, cum aliquem emen-
8 daret, dici iubebat, "Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris." quam sententiam usque adeo dilexit ut et in Palatio et in publicis operibus praescribi iuberet.

LII. Idem cum quandam aniculam adfectam iniuriis a milite audisset, exauctoratum eum militia servum ei dedit, quod artifex carpentarius esset, ut eam pasceret. et cum dolerent hoc milites factum, persuasit
2 omnibus ut modeste ferrent, et eos terruit. ἀναίματον imperium eius, cum fuerit durus et tetricus, idcirco vocatum est quod senatorem nullum occiderit, ut Herodianus Graecus scriptor refert in libris temporum
3 suorum. severitatis autem tantae fuit in milites, ut saepe legiones integras exauctoraverit, ex militibus Quirites appellans, nec exercitum umquam timuerit, idcirco quod in vitam suam dici nihil posset quod

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[1] See note to c. xxii. 4.
[2] Herodian, vi. 1, 7; 9, 8.
[3] See c. xii. 5 and notes.
[4] Modelled after the famous incident related of Julius Caesar, that he quelled a mutiny by addressing the troops as

never permitted anyone to be absent from the colours. Moreover, if any man turned aside from the road into someone's private property, he was punished in the Emperor's presence according to the character of his rank, either by the club or by the rod or by condemnation to death, or, if his rank placed him above all these penalties, by the sternest sort of a rebuke, the Emperor saying, "Do you desire this to be done to your land which you are doing to another's?" He used often to exclaim what he had heard from someone, either a Jew or a Christian,[1] and always remembered, and he also had it announced by a herald whenever he was disciplining anyone, "What you do not wish that a man should do to you, do not do to him." And so highly did he value this sentiment that he had it written up in the Palace and in public buildings.

LII. Once, on learning that a soldier had maltreated an old woman, he dismissed the man from the service and gave him to the woman as a slave, in order that he might support her, for he was a waggon-maker. And when the soldiers grumbled at this action, he persuaded them all to submit quietly and actually frightened them. His rule, though harsh and stern, was called bloodless for the reason that he never put a senator to death—or so Herodian, a Greek writer, declares in his history of his own times.[2] Moreover, so stern was he toward the soldiers that frequently he discharged entire legions,[3] addressing the men as "Citizens" instead of "Soldiers"[4]; and he never felt any fear of his troops, for it could not be said as a criticism of his character that his tribunes

Quirites (*i.e.* "Citizens"); see Suetonius, *Julius*, lxx. The speech attributed to Alexander is given in c. liii.-liv.

umquam tribuni vel duces de stipendiis militum quicquam accepissent, dicens, "Miles non timendus si[1] vestitus, armatus, calciatus et satur et habens aliquid in zonula," idcirco quod mendicitas militaris ad om-
4 nem desperationem vocaret armatum. apparitores denique nullos esse passus est tribunis aut ducibus milites iussitque, ut ante tribunum quattuor milites ambularent, ante ducem sex, ante legatum decem, h:que ad domos suos reciperent.

LIII. Et ut severitas eius agnosci posset, unam contionem militarem indendam putavi, quae illius in
2 re militari mores ostenderet. nam cum Antiochiam venisset, ac milites lavacris muliebribus et deliciis vacarent eique nuntiatum esset, omnes eos compre-
3 hendi iussit et in vincula conici. quod ubi compertum est, mota seditio est a legione, cuius socii erant in
4 vincula coniecti. tum ille tribunal ascendit vinctisque omnibus ad tribunal adductis, circumstantibus etiam
5 militibus et quidem armatis ita coepit: "Commilitones, si tamen ista vobis quae a vestris facta sunt displicent, disciplina maiorum rem publicam tenet. quae si dilabitur, et nomen Romanum et imperium
6 amittemus. neque enim sub nobis ista facienda sunt
7 quae sub impura illa bestia nuper facta sunt. milites

[1] *non timendus si* sugg. by Peter in note; *non timet nisi* P, Peter.

[1] See c. xv. 5 and note.

[2] His practice of addressing the troops is attested by coins with the representation of Alexander on a platform haranguing soldiers and the legend *Adlocutio Augusti*; see Cohen, iv², p. 402, nos. 3-7; p. 480, no. 1.

or generals ever took tithes out of the soldiers' pay,[1] his motto being: "A soldier is not to be feared if he is clothed and armed and shod, and has a full stomach and something in his money-belt." And this was because poverty in a soldier drove him, when in arms, to every desperate deed. Last of all, he did not permit the tribunes and generals to use soldiers as their servants, and he gave orders that four soldiers should walk in front of a tribune, six in front of a general, and ten in front of a legate, and that they should take their men into their quarters.

LIII. Now in order to show his strictness I have thought it right to insert one military harangue,[2] which reveals his methods of dealing with the troops. After his arrival in Antioch the soldiers began to use their leisure in the women's baths and the other pleasures,[3] but when Alexander learned of it he ordered all who did so to be arrested and thrown into chains. When this was made known, a mutiny was attempted by that legion whose members were put in chains. Thereupon, after bringing all those who had been thrown into chains to the tribunal, he mounted the platform, and, with the soldiers standing about him, and that too in arms, he began as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, if, in spite of all, such acts as have been committed by your comrades are to you displeasing, the discipline of our ancestors still governs the state, and if this is weakened, we shall lose both the name and the empire of the Romans. For never shall such things be done in my reign which were but recently done under that filthy monster. Soldiers of

[3] Also told of the troops quartered in Syria under Marcus Aurelius; see *Avid. Cass.*, v. 5.

Romani, vestri socii, mei contubernales et commilitones, amant, potant, lavant, et Graecorum more quidem se instituunt.[1] hoc ego diutius feram? et
8 non eos capitali dedam supplicio?" tumultus post hoc ortus est. atque iterum: "Quin continetis vocem in bello contra hostem, non contra impera-
9 torem vestrum necessariam? certe campidoctores vestri hanc vos docuerunt contra Sarmatas et Germanos ac Persas emittere, non contra eum, qui acceptam a provincialibus annonam, qui vestem, qui
10 stipendia vobis adtribuit. continete igitur vocem truculentam et campo ac bellis necessariam, ne vos hodie omnes uno ore atque una voce Quirites dimittam.
11 et incertum an Quirites. non enim digni estis qui vel Romanae plebis sitis, si ius Romanum non agnos-
LIV. citis." et cum vehementius fremerent ac ferro quoque minarentur, "Deponite," inquit, "dextras contra hostem erigendas, si fortes sitis, me enim ista non
2 terrent. si enim unum hominem occideritis, non nobis deerit res publica, non senatus, non populus
3 Romanus, qui me de vobis vindicet." cum nihilo minus post ista fremerent, exclamavit, "Quirites, dis-
4 cedite atque arma deponite." mirando exemplo depositis armis, depositis etiam sagulis militaribus omnes non ad[2] castra, sed ad deversoria varia recesserunt.
5 tuncque privatim intellectum est quantum eius
6 severitas posset. denique etiam signa stipatores et ii

[1] So Editor; *lauant Graecorum morem. etquidem se instituunt* P; *lauant Graecorum <in> morem. equidem si insistunt* Salm., Peter. [2] *de* P.

Rome, your companions, my comrades and fellow-soldiers, are whoring and drinking and bathing and, indeed, conducting themselves in the manner of the Greeks. Shall I tolerate this longer? Shall I not deliver them over to capital punishment?" Thereupon an uproar arose. And again he spoke: "Will you not silence that shouting, needed indeed against the foe in battle but not against your emperor? Of a certainty, your drill-masters have taught you to use this against Sarmatians, and Germans, and Persians, but not against him who gives you rations presented by the men of the provinces, and who gives you clothing and pay. Therefore cease from this fierce shouting, needed only on the battle-field and in war, lest I discharge you all today with one speech and with a single word, calling you "Citizens." But I know not whether I should even call you Citizens; for you are not worthy to be members even of the populace of Rome, if you do not observe Rome's laws." LIV. And when they clamoured still more loudly and even threatened him with their swords, he continued: "Put down your hands, which, if you are brave men, you should raise against the foe, for such things do not frighten me. For if you slay me, who am but one man, the state and the senate and the Roman people will not lack someone to take vengeance for me upon you." And when they clamoured none the less at this, he shouted, "Citizens, withdraw, and lay down your arms." Then in a most marvellous fashion they laid down their arms and also their military coats, and all withdrew, not to the camp, but to various lodgings. And on that occasion, particularly, it was seen how much could be accomplished by his strictness and discipline. Finally, his

qui imperatorem circumdederant in castra rettulerunt,
7 arma collecta populus ad Palatium tulit. eam tamen legionem quam exauctoravit rogatus post dies xxx, priusquam ad expeditionem Persicam proficisceretur, loco suo restituit eaque pugnante maxime vicit, cum tamen tribunos eius capitali adfecit supplicio, quod per neglegentiam illorum milites apud Daphnem luxuriati essent, vel per conventiam seditionem fecisset exercitus.

LV. Magno igitur apparatu inde in Persas profectus Artaxerxen regem potentissimum vicit, cum ipse cornua obiret, milites admoneret, subiectus telis[1] versaretur, manu plurimum faceret, singulos quosque
2 milites ad laudem verbis adduceret. fuso denique fugatoque tanto rege, qui cum septingentis elephantis falcatisque mille et octingentis curribus ad bellum venerat et[2] equitum multis milibus, statim Antiochiam rediit et de praeda, quam Persis diripuit, suum ditavit exercitum, cum et tribunos ea quae per vicos diri-

[1] *telis* Petschenig, Peter[2]; *tuteli* P. [2] *et* ins. by Petschenig; om. in P and Peter.

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[1] See note to *Sev.*, xxii. 7.

[2] In his interest in anecdote and trivial detail the biographer has failed to give any coherent account of Alexander's war in the Orient. In 227 Ardashīr (Artaxerxes), a Persian chieftain, who had gradually conquered all Persia, defeated and killed Artabanus V., the Parthian king, and founded the new Persian monarchy and the Sassanid dynasty (named from Sāsān, his grandfather). In 230 he overran Mesopotamia and threatened Syria and Cappadocia, so that in 231 Alexander was forced to take the field against him; see the coins of 231 with the legend *Prof(ectio) Aug(usti)*, Cohen, iv[2], p. 450 f., no. 486; p. 484, no. 18. The most detailed account of the campaign is given by Herodian (vi. 5-6), who relates

attendants and those who stood about his person carried the standards back to the camp, and the populace gathering up the arms bore them to the Palace.[1] However, thirty days afterwards, before he set out on the campaign against the Persians, he was prevailed upon to restore the discharged legion to its former status; and it was chiefly through its prowess in the field that he won the victory. Nevertheless, he inflicted capital punishment on its tribunes because it was through their negligence that the soldiers had revelled at Daphne or else with their connivance that the troops had mutinied.

LV. And so, having set out from there against the Persians with a great array, he defeated Artaxerxes,[2] a most powerful king. In this battle he himself commanded the flanks, urged on the soldiers, exposed himself constantly to missiles, performed many brave deeds with his own hand, and by his words encouraged individual soldiers to praiseworthy actions. At last he routed and put to flight this great king, who had come to the war with seven hundred elephants, eighteen hundred scythed chariots, and many thousand horsemen. Thereupon he immediately returned to Antioch and presented to his troops the booty taken from the Persians, commanding the tribunes and generals and even the soldiers to keep

that one division of the Roman army was annihilated and the other two (one under the command of Alexander) forced to retire, but says nothing of the victories recorded here and by Victor (*Caes.*, xxiv.) and Eutropius (*Brev.*, viii. 23). On the other hand, the fact that Ardashīr refrained from any advance and that the Roman-Parthian boundary remained unchanged points to the belief that Alexander was not wholly unsuccessful.

puerant et duces et ipsos milites habere iussisset.
8 tumque primum servi Persae apud Romanos fuerunt, quos quidem, quia indigne ferunt Persarum reges quempiam suorum alicui servire, acceptis pretiis reddidit pretiumque vel iis qui manu ceperant servos dedit vel in aerarium contulit.

LVI. Post hoc Romam venit triumphoque pulcherrimo acto apud senatum primum haec verba ha-
2 buit: Ex actis senatus die VII kal. Octob.: "Persas, patres conscripti, vicimus. longae eloquentiae opus non est, tantum scire debetis, quae illorum arma
3 fuerint, qui apparatus. iam primum elephanti septingenti idemque turriti cum sagittariis et onere sagittarum. ex[1] his triginta cepimus, ducenti inter-
4 fecti iacent, decem et octo perduximus. falcati currus mille octingenti. ex his[2] adducere interfectorum animalium currus ducentos potuimus, sed id, quia et
5 fingi poterat, facere supersedimus. centum et viginti milia equitum eorum fudimus, cataphractarios, quos

[1] *et* P. [2] MDCCC Salm. (cf. c. lv. 2); *mille se adducere* P; *mille †se. adducere* Peter.

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[1] His return is commemorated on coins of 233 with the representation of Alexander crowned by Victory and having the Tigris and Euphrates at his feet; see Cohen, iv², p. 445, no. 446. Also coins of Mamaea with the legend *Fortuna Redux* (Cohen, iv², p. 493, no. 30) probably celebrate this return.

[2] The citation is supposed to be from the official records of the senate's transactions. They are also cited as a source in *Prob.*, ii. 1, but the genuineness of these citations is more than dubious.

[3] The *κατάφρακτοι* were a body of cavalry whose horses were clad in full mail; they were Persian in origin but were also used by the Seleucid kings, and they appear in the Roman army of the late empire (see Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi, 10, 8)

for themselves the plunder they had seized in the country. Then for the first time Romans had Persian slaves, but because the kings of the Persians deem it a disgrace that any of their subjects should serve anyone as slaves, ransoms were offered, and these Alexander accepted and then returned the men, either giving the ransom-money to those who had taken the slaves captive, or depositing it in the public treasury.

LVI. After this, returning to Rome, he conducted a most splendid triumph[1] and then first of all addressed the senate in the following speech: From the transactions of the senate for the seventh day before the Kalends of October[2]: "Conscript Fathers, we have conquered the Persians. There is no need of lengthy rhetoric; you should know, however, this much, namely, what their arms were, and what their array. First of all, there were seven hundred elephants provided with turrets and archers and great loads of arrows. Of these we captured thirty, we have left two hundred slain upon the field, and we have led eighteen in triumph. Moreover, there were scythed chariots, one thousand eight hundred in number. Of these we could have presented to your eyes two hundred, of which the horses have been slain, but since they could easily be counterfeited we have refrained from so doing. One hundred and twenty thousand of their cavalry we have routed, ten thousand of their horsemen clad in full mail, whom they call cuirassiers,[3] we have slain in battle, and

25 Sept., 233.

under the name *clibanarii*. The word *clibanarii* would seem from the present passage to be Persian (so Du Cange, *Glossarium*, ii. p. 371), but it seems more natural to connect it with κλίβανος, an iron vessel.

illi clibanarios vocant, decem milia in bello interemimus, eorum armis nostros armavimus. multos
6 Persarum cepimus eosdemque vendidimus. terras interamnanas, Mesopotamiae scilicet, neglectas ab
7 impura illa belua recepimus. Artaxerxen, potentissimum regem tam in re quam nomine, fusum fugavimus, ita ut eum terra Persarum fugientem videret, et qua ducta fuerant quondam signa nostrorum, ea
8 rex ipse signis effugit relictis. haec sunt, patres conscripti, gesta. eloquentiae opus non est. milites divites redeunt, laborem in victoria nemo sentit.
9 vestrum est supplicationem decernere, ne dis videamur ingrati." adclamatio senatus: "Alexander Auguste, di te servent. Persice Maxime, di te servent. vere Parthicus, vere Persicus. tropaea tua et
10 nos videmus, victorias et nos videmus. iuveni imperatori, patri patriae, pontifici maximo. per te victoriam undique praesumimus. ille vincit qui militem regit. dives senatus, dives miles, dives
LVII. populus Romanus." dimisso senatu Capitolium ascendit atque inde re divina facta et tunicis Persicis in templo locatis contionem huiusmodi habuit: "Quirites, vicimus Persas. milites divites reduximus. vobis congiarium pollicemur, cras ludos circenses Persicos dabimus."

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[1] *i.e.* Elagabalus.

[2] The standards of Crassus captured by the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 B.C. and of Antony's legates Saxa and Statianus captured respectively in 40 and 36 B.C.

[3] For similar acclamations see c. vi.-xi.; *Avid. Cass.*, xiii.; *Com.*, xviii.-xix. and notes.

with their armour we have armed our own men. We have captured many of the Persians and have sold them into slavery, and we have re-conquered the lands which lie between the rivers, those of Mesopotamia I mean, abandoned by that filthy monster.[1] Artaxerxes, the most powerful of kings, in fact as well as in name, we have routed and driven from the field, so that the land of the Persians saw him in full flight, and where once our ensigns were led away in triumph,[2] there the king himself fled apace leaving his own standards. These are our achievements, Conscript Fathers, and there is no need of rhetoric. Our soldiers have come back enriched, and in victory no one remembers his hardships. It is now your part to decree a general thanksgiving, that we may not seem to the gods to be ungrateful." Then followed the acclamations of the senate[3]: "Alexander Augustus, may the gods keep you! Persicus Maximus, may the gods keep you! Parthicus in truth, Persicus in truth. We behold your trophies, we behold your victories too. Hail to the youthful Emperor, the Father of his Country, the Pontifex Maximus! Through you we foresee victory on every hand. He conquers who can rule his soldiers. Richis the senate, rich the soldiers and rich the Roman people!" LVII. Thereupon he dismissed the senate and went up to the Capitolium, and then, after offering sacrifices and dedicating the tunics of the Persians in the temple, he delivered the following address: "Fellow-citizens, we have conquered the Persians. We have brought back the soldiers laden with riches. To you we promise a largess, and to-morrow we will give games in the Circus in celebration of our victory over the Persians."

2 Haec nos et in annalibus et apud multos repperimus. sed quidam dicunt a servo suo eum proditum
3 non vicisse regem sed, ne vinceretur, fugisse. quod contra multorum opinionem dici non dubium est iis qui plurimos legerint. nam et amisisse illum exercitum dicunt fame, frigore ac morbo, ut Herodianus auctor est contra multorum opinionem.
4 Post hoc cum ingenti gloria comitante senatu equestri ordine atque omni populo circumfusisque undique mulieribus et infantibus, maxime militum coniugibus, pedes Palatium conscendit, cum retro currus triumphalis a quattuor elephantis traheretur.
5 levabatur manibus hominum Alexander, vixque illi per horas quattuor ambulare permissum est, undique omnibus clamantibus : " Salva Roma, salva res publica,[1]
6 quia salvus est Alexander." alia die actis circensibus et item ludis scaenicis deinceps congiarium populo
7 Romano dedit. puellas et pueros, quemadmodum Antoninus Faustinianas instituerat, Mamaeanas et Mamaeanos instituit.

LVIII. Actae sunt res feliciter et in Mauretania Tingitana per Furium Celsum et in Illyrico per Varium Macrinum adfinem eius et in Armenia per Iunium Palmatum, atque ex omnibus locis ei tabellae laureatae sunt delatae. quibus in senatu et apud

[1] *salua res publica* Flor. Cusanum, acc. to Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii., p. 301 ; om. in P and Peter.

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[1] Herodian, vi. 6, 3 ; see also note to c. lv. 1.

[2] Probably the *Liberalitas Aug(usti) quinta* of his coins ; see Cohen, iv², p. 416 f., nos. 141-145.

[3] See *Pius*, viii. 1 and note ; *Marc.*, xxvi. 6.

[4] Presumably his father-in-law ; see c. xlix. 3-4 and note.

[5] It was customary to send a wreath of laurel with the

All this we have found both in the annals and in many writers. Some assert, however, that he was betrayed by one of his slaves and did not conquer the king at all, but, on the contrary, was forced to flee in order to escape being conquered. But those who have read most of the writers are sure that this assertion is contrary to the general belief. It is also stated that he lost his army through hunger, cold, and disease, and this is the version given by Herodian,[1] but contrary to the belief of the majority.

After this, with the greatest glory and accompanied by the senate, the equestrian order, and the whole populace, with the women and children, particularly the wives of the soldiers, crowding about him on every side, he went up on foot to the Palace, while behind him four elephants drew his triumphal chariot. And the populace kept lifting him up in their arms, and for four hours they scarcely permitted him to put his foot to the ground, while on all sides they kept shouting out, "Secure is Rome, secure is the commonwealth, for secure is Alexander." On the following day he gave games in the Circus and spectacles on the stage, and immediately thereafter he presented a largess[2] to the Roman people. And he founded an order of girls and boys, to be called Mamaeanae and Mamaeani, as Antoninus had founded the Faustinianae.[3]

LVIII. Other victories also were won—in MauretaniaTingitana by Furius Celsus, in Illyricum by Varius Macrinus, Alexander's kinsman,[4] and in Armenia by Junius Palmatus, and from all these places laurelled letters[5] were sent to Alexander. When these had

official report of an important victory. Nothing further is known of any of these campaigns.

populum lectis vario tempore cum etiam de Isauria[1]
2 optatae venissent,[2] omnibus nominibus est ornatus. iis
vero qui rem publicam bene gesserant consularia orna-
menta decreta sunt, additis etiam sacerdotiis et agro-
rum possessionibus iis qui erant pauperes et aevo iam
3 graves. captivos diversarum nationum amicis donavit,
si aetas puerilis aut iuvenalis permisit, si qui tamen
regii aut nobiliores fuerunt, eos militiae, non tamen
4 magnae, deputavit. sola quae de hostibus capta sunt,
limitaneis ducibus et militibus donavit, ita ut eorum
essent,[3] si heredes eorum militarent, nec umquam ad
privatos pertinerent, dicens attentius eos militaturos,
5 si etiam sua rura defenderent. addidit sane his et
animalia et servos, ut possent colere quod acceperant,
ne per inopiam hominum vel per senectutem possi-
dentium desererentur rura vicina barbariae, quod tur-
pissimum ille ducebat.

LIX. Post haec cum ingenti amore apud populum et senatum viveret, et sperantibus victoriam cunctis

[1] With *Isauria* ends the portion of the *vita* transposed to *Maxim.*, v. 3; see crit. note to c. xliii. 7. [2] *optatae uenissent* P, acc. to Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 287; †*uario t. c. e. d. I. optate uenisset* Peter. [3] *essent militarent* P.

[1] An error, for none is found in his inscriptions or on his coins.

[2] See note to *Hadr.*, viii. 7.

[3] A similar policy was followed by Probus in Isauria (see *Prob.*, xvi. 6) and also by the emperors of the fifth century (see *Codex Justinianus*, xi. 60. 3).

[4] Probably in 234. An account of the German expedition is given by Herodian, vi. 7. The Germans, taking advantage of the fact that the armies on the Danube and the Rhine had been depleted in order to supply troops for the campaign against Ardashīr, crossed the rivers and invaded Roman territory. Alexander, marching northward hastily, crossed the Rhine on a bridge of boats (portrayed on a coin of 235, Cohen, iv[2], p. 483, no. 16) and attempted to make peace,

been read, on different occasions, before the senate and the people and wished-for tidings had arrived from Isauria also, honorary cognomina taken from the names of all these lands were conferred on the Emperor.[1] Moreover, those who had won success in the administration of the state received the consular insignia,[2] with the addition of priestly offices and grants of land for any who were poor and now burdened with age. The captives taken from the various nations, if their childhood or youth permitted it, were given to the Emperor's friends, but those who were of royal blood or noble rank were enrolled for warfare, though not for any of great importance. The lands taken from the enemy were presented to the leaders and soldiers of the frontier-armies,[3] with the provision that they should continue to be theirs only if their heirs entered military service, and that they should never belong to civilians, for, he said, men serve with greater zeal if they are defending their own lands too. He added to these lands, of course, both draught-animals and slaves, in order that they might be able to till what they had received, and that it might not come to pass that, through a lack of inhabitants or the old age of the owners, the lands bordering on the country of the barbarians should be left uninhabitated, for this, he thought, would be most discreditable.

LIX. After this he was regarded with the greatest affection by both the populace and the senate, and when he set out for the war against the Germans,[4]

promising to fulfil their conditions and offering them large sums of money. The anger of the troops at these negotiations led to a revolt under the leadership of Maximinus (§ 7-8) and the murder of Alexander and Mamaea; see *Maxim.*, vii. 4; Herodian, vi., 8-9.

et invitis eum dimittentibus ad Germanicum bellum profectus est, deducentibus cunctis per centum et
2 centum quinquaginta milia. erat autem gravissimum rei publicae atque ipsi, quod Germanorum vastationi-
3 bus Gallia diripiebatur. pudoremque augebat, quod victis iam Parthis ea natio inminebat rei publicae cervicibus, quae semper etiam minusculis imperatori-
4 bus subiecta videbatur. magnis igitur itineribus, laetis militibus contendit. sed cum ibi quoque seditiosas
5 legiones comperisset, abici eas praecepit. verum Gallicanae mentes, ut sese habent durae ac retorridae et saepe imperatoribus graves, severitatem hominis nimiam et longe maiorem post Heliogabalum non
6 tulerunt. denique agentem eum cum paucis in Britannia, ut alii volunt in Gallia, in vico cui Sicilia nomen est, non ex omnium sententia sed latrociantium modo quidam milites et ii praecipue qui Heliogabali praemiis effloruerunt, cum severum prin-
7 cipem pati non possent, occiderunt. multi dicunt a Maximino inmissos tirones, qui ei ad exercendum
8 dati fuerant, eum occidisse, multi aliter; a militibus tamen constat, cum iniuriose quasi in puerum eundem et matrem eius avaram et cupidam multa dixissent.

LX. Imperavit annis XIII diebus VIIII. vixit annis

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[1] On Alexander's severity see c. xii. 5 and note. It certainly was not responsible for this mutiny; see note to § 1.

[2] Victor also says that he was killed at *Sicilia*, a *vicus Britanniae* (*Caes.*, xxiv. 4), but this is, of course, an error due to some confusion in the name. All the testimony points to the belief that his death occurred at or near Mainz; see *C.I.L.*, xiii. 2, p. 298.

[3] Maximinus (Thrax), his successor; see *Maxim.*, vii.

though all hoped for victory, they were unwilling to let him depart and escorted him on his way for a distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles. It was, indeed, a very grave matter both for the state and for himself that Gaul should be plundered by German inroads, and his sense of humiliation was increased by the thought that now that the Parthians had been defeated a nation should still be hanging over the neck of the commonwealth, which, even under insignificant emperors, had seemed to be in a state of subjection. Therefore he hastened against the enemy by long marches, and the soldiers, too, were eager. But on his arrival he found that there also the legions were ready to mutiny, and accordingly he ordered them to be disbanded. The Gallic temper, however, which is rough and surly and frequently a source of danger to emperors, would not brook his excessive strictness,[1] which seemed all the greater after Elagabalus. And finally, while he was in quarters with a few men in Britain, or, according to some, in Gaul, in a village named Sicilia,[2] some soldiers murdered him. This was not done in response to any general sentiment but rather as the act of an assassin, the ringleaders being men who had thriven on the gifts of Elagabalus and would not tolerate a stricter prince. Many, indeed, relate that he was slain by some recruits despatched by Maximinus[3] (to whom they had been assigned for their training), and many others give different accounts. Nevertheless, it is generally agreed that those who killed him were soldiers, for they hurled many insults at him, speaking of him as a child and of his mother as greedy and covetous.

LX. He ruled for thirteen years and nine days, and he lived for twenty-nine years, three months, and

2 xxviii mensibus iii diebus vii. egit omnia ex consilio
matris, cum qua occisus est.
3 Omina mortis haec fuerunt: cum natalem diem
commendaret, hostia cruenta effugit et, ut se civiliter
gerebat ac permixtus populo erat, albam eius vestem,
4 cum qua constiterat, cruentavit. laurus in Palatio
cuiusdam[1] civitatis, a qua proficiscebatur ad bellum,
5 ingens et antiqua tota subito decidit. arbores fici
tres, quae ficus eas ferrent quibus Alexandrinarum
nomen est, subito ante illius tentorium deciderunt,
6 cum tentoria imperatoria his adnexa essent. mulier
Druias eunti exclamavit Gallico sermone, "Vadas
nec victoriam speres nec te militi tuo credas."
7 tribunal ascendit, ut contionaretur et faustum aliquid
diceret, et[2] ita coepit "Occiso imperatore Helioga-
8 balo." hoc tamen omini fuit quod iturus ad bellum
milites adloqui minus fausta oratione coeptaverat.

LXI. Sed haec omnia vehementissime contempsit.
profectusque ad bellum in loco supra dicto ita occisus
2 est: pranderat forte publico, ut solebat, convivio, id
est apertis papilionibus cibo militari accepto, neque
enim aliud a discutientibus militibus in tentoriis est
3 repertum. et cum quiesceret post convivium, hora
diei ferme septima, unus ex Germanis, qui scurrarum
officium sustinebat, ingressus dormientibus cunctis,
4 solo tamen imperatore intervigilante visus est; cui

[1] *cuiusdam* P corr.; *cuius* P[1]; *eius* Peter. [2] *et* om. in P.

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[1] As his birthday was 1st October, 208 (see note to c. v. 2), these figures are incorrect.

[2] See *Sev.*, xxii. 7 and note.

[3] Described by Pliny as dark with white lines and called *delicata*; see *Nat. Hist.*, xv. 70.

[4] See c. li. 5.

seven days.[1] He did everything in accordance with his mother's advice, and she was killed with him.

The omens portending his death were as follows: When he was praying for a blessing for his birthday the victim escaped, all covered with blood, and, as he was standing in the crowd dressed in the clothes of a civilian, it stained the white robe which he wore. In the Palace[2] in a certain city from which he was setting out to the war, an ancient laurel-tree of huge size suddenly fell at full length. Also three fig-trees, which bear the kind of figs known as Alexandrian,[3] fell suddenly before his tent-door, for they were close to the Emperor's quarters. Furthermore, as he went to war a Druid prophetess cried out in the Gallic tongue, "Go, but do not hope for victory, and put no trust in your soldiers". And when he mounted a tribunal in order to make a speech and say something of good omen, he began in this wise: "On the murder of the Emperor Elagabalus". But it was regarded as a portent that when about to go to war he began an address to the troops with words of ill-omen.

LXI. All these portents, however, he looked upon with the profoundest contempt. And having set out for the war, he was slain in the aforementioned village in the following manner. He had lunched, as it happened, in his usual way[4] at a general meal, that is to say, in an open tent and on the same food that was used by the troops—for no other kind of food was found in the tent by the soldiers when they tore it to pieces. And as he was resting after the meal, at about the seventh hour, one of the Germans, who was performing the duties of guard, came in while all were asleep; the Emperor, however, who alone

Alexander "Quid est hoc,[1]" inquit, "contubernalis? num aliquid de hostibus nuntias?" at ille metu perterritus et sperans non posse se evadere, quod in tentorium principis inruisset, ad contubernales suos venit eosque ad durum principem interimendum cohortatus est. qui subito plures armatique ingressi inermes et obsistentes contruncarunt et[2] ipsum plurimis ictibus confoderunt. aliqui dicunt omnino nihil dictum sed tantum a militibus clamatum "Exi, recede," atque ita obtruncatum iuvenem optimum.[3] sed omnis apparatus militaris, qui postea est ductus in Germaniam a Maximino, Alexandri fuit et potentissimus quidem per Armenios et Osrhoenos et Parthos et omnis generis hominum.

LXII. Contempsisse Alexandrum mortem cum ferocitas mentis, qua militem semper adtrivit, tum etiam illa declarant. Thrasybulus mathematicus illi amicissimus fuit. qui cum ei dixisset necessitatem esse ut gladio barbarico periret, primo laetatus est, quod sibi mortem bellicam et imperatoriam crederet inminere; deinde disputavit ostenditque optimos quosque violenta morte consumptos, cum diceret ipsum Alexandrum, cuius nomen teneret, Pompeium, Caesarem, Demosthenem, Tullium et ceteros insignes viros qui non quieta morte oppetissent. tantumque animi habuit, ut putaret se diis comparandum, si in

[1] *est hoc* Petschenig; *est hic* P; *istic* Jordan, Peter. [2] *et* om. in P. [3] *dimiserunt* ins. after *optimum* in P corr.; lacuna assumed by Peter.

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[1] This account of the murder is wholly misleading; see note to c. lix. 7.

[2] Archers from Armenia, Osroene (N.W. Mesopotamia), and

was awake at the moment, saw him and said, "What is it, comrade? Do you bring news of the enemy?" But the fellow, terrified by his fears and having no hope that he could escape, seeing that he had burst into the Emperor's tent, went out to his comrades and urged them to kill their rigorous prince. Whereupon a great number in arms quickly entered the tent, and after slaying all who, though unarmed, resisted, they stabbed the Emperor himself with many thrusts.[1] Some relate that nothing at all was said and that the soldiers merely cried out, "Go forth, depart," and thus slaughtered this excellent man. But all the military array, which Maximinus afterwards led to Germany, was Alexander's, and it was a very powerful one, too, by reason of the soldiers from Armenia, Osroene, and Parthia,[2] composed, as it was, of men of every race.

LXII. Alexander's contempt for death is clearly shown both by the intrepid spirit with which he always put down the soldiery, and also by the following incident. When Thrasybulus the astrologer, with whom he was on the most friendly terms, told him that it was his destiny to fall by the sword of a barbarian, he first expressed his joy, thinking that he was fated to die in battle in a manner worthy of an emperor; then, speaking at length he pointed out that all the noblest men had died a violent death, mentioning Alexander himself, whose name he bore, then Pompey, Caesar, Demosthenes, Cicero, and other men of note, none of whom had met with a peaceful end. And such was his courage that he

Parthia were serving in the Roman army; see *Maxim.*, xi. 7 f. and Herodian, vii. 2. 1.

5 bello periret. sed res eum fefellit; nam et gladio barbarico et scurrae barbari manu, verum non in bello, sed belli tempore, periit.

LXIII. Mortem eius milites et qui exauctorati ab eo quondam fuerant gravissime tulerunt atque 2 auctores caedis trucidarunt. populus vero Romanus senatusque omnis cum provincialibus cunctis neque tristius umquam neque asperius acceperunt, simul quod successoris asperitas atque rusticitas Maximini, utpote hominis militaris, cui cum filio post eum imperium delatum est, graviorem fati necessitatem 3 videbatur ostendere. senatus eum in deos rettulit. cenotaphium in Gallia, Romae sepulcrum amplissimum 4 meruit. dati sunt et sodales, qui Alexandrini appellati sunt; addita et festivitas matris nomine atque ipsius, quae hodieque Romae religiosissime celebratur natali eius die.

5 Causa occidendi eius ab aliis haec fuisse perhibetur, quod mater eius relicto bello Germanico orientem ad iactantiam sui vellet redire, atque ob hoc esset iratus 6 exercitus. sed haec ab amatoribus Maximini ficta sunt, qui videri noluerunt imperatorem optimum ab amico suo interfectum contra iura humana[1] atque divina.

LXIV. Hactenus imperium populi Romani eum

[1] *romana* P.

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[1] This statement is certainly incorrect.

[2] Commemorated on coins with the legends *Divo Alexandro* and *Consecratio*; see Cohen, iv², p. 463, nos. 597-599.

[3] See note to *Marc.*, xv. 4.

[4] The 1st October; see note to c. v. 2.

[5] This version is not so far from the truth; see notes to c. lix. 1 and 7.

thought that he ought to be likened to the gods, were he to perish in battle. But the result deceived his hopes; for he did, indeed, fall by the sword of a barbarian and by the hand of a barbarian guard, but it was not in battle, though during the course of a war.

LXIII. His death was greatly lamented by the soldiers, even by those whom he had discharged, and they slew the men who had committed the murder.[1] But the Roman people and all the senate and all the inhabitants of the provinces never mourned anything with greater sorrow and bitterness of spirit; and at the same time the cruel necessity of fate seemed to be shown in the harshness and roughness of his successor Maximinus (natural enough in a soldier), on whom, together with his son, the imperial power was conferred after Alexander. The senate raised him to the rank of the gods,[2] and he was granted the honour of a cenotaph in Gaul and a magnificent tomb in Rome. Moreover, a college of priests was appointed in his honour, called Alexandrian,[3] and a feast-day, too, was decreed, called by his mother's name as well as by his, which even today is scrupulously observed at Rome on the anniversary of his birth.[4]

The cause of his murder, so others maintain, was this, namely, that his mother wished to abandon the war against the Germans and return to the East in order to display her power there, and at this the soldiers grew angry.[5] But this is only a fiction of the friends of Maximinus, who did not wish to let it appear that the best of emperors had been slain by a friend in defiance of all law, both human and divine.

LXIV. Up to this time the Roman Empire had

principem habuit qui diutius imperaret, post eum certatim inruentibus et aliis semestribus, aliis annuis, plerisque per biennium, ad summum per triennium imperantibus, usque ad eos principes qui latius imperium tetenderunt, Aurelianum dico et deinceps. 2 de quibus, si vita subpeditaverit, ea quae comperta fuerint publicabimus.

3 Reprehensa sunt in Alexandro haec: quod Syrus esse nolebat, quod aurum amabat, quod suspiciosissimus erat, quod vectigalia multa inveniebat, quod se Magnum Alexandrum videri volebat, quod nimis severus in milites erat, quod curis privatis[1] agebat quae omnia in re publica instituerat.

4 Scio sane plerosque negare hunc a senatu Caesarem appellatum esse sed a militibus, qui verum prorsus ignorant; dicere praeterea non hunc fuisse consob- 5 rinum Heliogabali. qui, ut nos sequantur, historicos eius temporis legant et maxime Acholium, qui et itinera huius principis scripsit.

LXV. Soles quaerere, Constantine maxime, quid sit quod hominem Syrum et alienigenam talem principem fecerit, cum tot Romani generis, tot aliarum provinciarum reperiantur improbi, impuri, 2 crudeles, abiecti, iniusti, libidinosi. iam primum possum de bonorum virorum respondere sententia

[1] *curis priuatis* Madvig; *curas priuatis* P; *curas* <*de*> *priuatis* Salm., Peter.

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[1] Yet the biographies of Aurelian and his successors which are included in the *Historia Augusta* are attributed to Vopiscus.

[2] This statement is incorrect; see c. i. 2; *Heliog.*, v. 1.

been governed by princes who had reigns of considerable length, but after Alexander various men seized the power in rivalry with one another, of whom some reigned only six months, others for a year, and a number, again, for two or, at the most, three years, down to the time of those emperors, who extended the Empire to wider bounds—Aurelian, I mean, and his successors, concerning whom, if life be granted me, I shall publish all I have learned.[1]

The following charges were brought against Alexander: That he did not like to be regarded as a Syrian, that he was too fond of gold, that he was full of suspicions, that he invented many new taxes, that he wished to seem a second Alexander the Great, that he was too harsh toward the soldiers, and that he conducted all public business on his private responsibility.

There are many indeed, I know, who assert that he was given the name of Caesar, not by the senate, but by the soldiers.[2] These writers, however, are wholly ignorant of the truth; and they say, besides, that he was not the cousin of Elagabalus.[3] But in order to follow my version they need only to read the historians of that time, particularly Acholius,[4] who also wrote about Alexander's journeys.

LXV. You are wont to inquire, most mighty Constantine, why it was that a man who was a Syrian and an alien-born became so great an emperor, whereas so many of Roman stock and so many from other provinces proved to be evil, filthy, cruel, base, unjust, and lustful. I might say in reply, following the opinion of many good men, that, in the first place,

[3] Repeated in c. xlix. 5.

[4] See c. xiv. 6 and note.

potuisse natura, quae ubique una mater est, bonum principem nasci, deinde timore, quod pessimus esset
3 occisus, hunc optimum factum. sed quia verum est suggerendum, Clementiae ac Pietati tuae lecta re-
4 serabo. notum est illud Pietati tuae, quod in Mario Maximo legisti, meliorem esse rem publicam et prope tutiorem, in qua princeps malus est, ea, in qua sunt amici principis mali, si quidem unus malus potest a plurimis bonis corrigi, multi autem mali non possunt ab uno quamvis bono ulla ratione superari.
5 et id quidem ab Homullo ipsi Traiano dictum est, cum ille diceret Domitianum pessimum fuisse, amicos autem bonos habuisse, atque ideo illum magis odio fuisse, qui rem publicam peioris vitae hominibus mandaverit,[1] quia melius est unum malum pati quam multos.

LXVI. Sed ut ad rem redeam, Alexander quidem et ipse optimus fuit[2] et optimae matris consiliis usus
2 est. at tamen amicos sanctos et venerabiles habuit, non malitiosos, non furaces, non factiosos, non callidos, non ad malum consentientes, non bonorum inimicos, non libidinosos, non crudeles, non circumventores sui, non inrisores, non qui illum quasi fatuum circumducerent, sed sanctos, venerabiles, continentes, religiosos, amantes principis sui, et qui de illo nec ipsi riderent nec risui esse vellent, qui nihil venderent,

[1] *qui . . . hominibus commendauerat* Edit. princ.; *mandauerit* Ellis; *quae rem p. temporis uitae ille* P, susp. by Peter. [2] After *fuit* P has *nam hoc nemo uult nisi bonus*; del. by Jordan and Peter.

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[1] *i.e.* Elagabalus; for his murder see *Heliog.*, xvii. 1.

[2] Perhaps the father of the Valerius Homullus mentioned in *Pius*, xi. 8; *Marc.*, vi. 9.

it is possible for a good prince to be produced by Nature, who is the one universal mother, and that, in the second, it was fear that made this man the best of emperors, because the worst had been slain[1]; but since I must lay the truth before you, I shall disclose the fruits of my reading to Your Clemency and Piety. For it is well known to Your Piety, since you have read it in the work of Marius Maximus, that the state in which the ruler is evil is happier and almost safer than the one in which he has evil friends; for, indeed, one evil man can be made better by many righteous, but in no way can many evil men be held in check by one man, however righteous he may be. And this very thing was told even to Trajan by Homullus,[2] who said that Domitian was, indeed, a most evil man but had righteous friends, whereas Trajan was held in greater hatred because he entrusted the state to men of evil ways, for it is better to endure one evil man than many.

LXVI. But as for Alexander, to return to my theme, he was himself a most righteous man and followed the counsels of a righteous mother[3]; and, moreover, he had friends who were upright and revered, not spiteful, or thieving, or seditious, or crafty, or leagued together for evil, or haters of the righteous, or lustful, or cruel, or deceivers of their prince, or mockers, or desirous of hoodwinking him like a fool, but, on the other hand, upright, revered, temperate, pious, fond of their prince, men who neither mocked him themselves nor wished him to become an object of mockery to others, who sold nothing, who lied in nothing, who falsified nothing, and who never fell

[3] But see c. xiv. 7 and notes.

nihil mentirentur, nihil fingerent, numquam deciperent existimationem principis sui sed amarent.
3 huc accedit quod eunuchos nec in consiliis nec in ministeriis habuit, qui soli principes perdunt, dum eos more gentium aut regum Persarum volunt vivere, qui eos a populo et amicis summovent,[1] qui internuntii sunt aliud quam respondetur saepe referentes, claudentes principem suum et agentes ante omnia, ne quid sciat. qui cum empti sint et servi fuerint,[2]
4 quid tandem possunt boni sapere? erat denique eius ipsius sententia, "Ego de praefectorum et consulum et senatorum capitibus mancipia aere empta iudicare non patior."

LXVII. Scio, imperator, quod periculo ista dicantur apud imperatorem, qui talibus serviit, sed salva re publica posteaquam intellexisti quid mali clades istae habeant et quemadmodum principes circumveniant, et tu eos eo loci habes ut nec chlamyde uti iusseris sed de necessitatibus domesticis delegaris.

2 Iam illud insigne, quod solum intra Palatium praeter praefectum et Ulpianum quidem neminem vidit nec dedit alicui facultatem vel fumorum vendendorum de se vel sibi de aliis male loquendi, maxime occiso Turino, qui illum quasi fatuum et vecordem saepe
3 vendiderat. his accessit, quod amicos et parentes

[1] *amicis summouent* Cod. Vaticanus 5114 (see Hohl, *Klio*, xiii., p. 413), Salm., Peter; *amicissimum mouent* P. [2] *serui fuerint* Petschenig; *perui fuerit* P; *serui euirati* Peter.

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[1] See c. xxiii. 5-6 and notes.

[2] *i.e.* the *paludamentum* or general's cloak; see note to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5.

[3] See c. xxxi. 2. [4] See c. xxxvi. 2-3.

short of the expectations of their prince but were always devoted to him. It must be added, furthermore, that he never had eunuchs in his councils or in official positions [1]—these creatures alone cause the downfall of emperors, for they wish them to live in the manner of foreign nations or as the kings of the Persians, and keep them well removed from the people and from their friends, and they are go-betweens, often delivering messages other than the emperor's reply, hedging him about, and aiming, above all things, to keep knowledge from him. And since they are nothing but purchased chattels and slaves, how, pray, can they have knowledge of the right? And indeed, this was Alexander's own opinion too; for he used to say, "I will not permit slaves purchased with money to sit in judgment on the lives of prefects and consuls and senators".

LXVII. I know, O Prince, that it is perilous to say these words to an emperor who has been in subjection to such creatures, but now that, greatly to the welfare of the state, you have learned how much evil resides in these pests, and how they mislead rulers, you too keep them in their proper place, and never bid them wear a soldier's cloak [2] but assign them only to the necessary duties of your household.

Now this too is a noteworthy thing, that never did Alexander grant an audience in the Palace to anyone alone except the prefect of the guard, that is Ulpian,[3] and he never gave anyone an opportunity of selling false promises in his name or of telling him evil things about others, especially after the death of Turinus, who had often sold the promises of the Emperor as though he were a fool and a weakling.[4] And to this we must add that if Alexander

Alexander si malos repperit, aut punivit aut, si vetus vel amicitia vel necessitudo non sivit puniri, dimisit a se dicens " His carior est mihi totis[1] res publica."

LXVIII. Et ut scias, qui viri in eius consilio fuerint : Fabius Sabinus, Sabini insignis viri filius, Cato temporis sui ; Domitius Ulpianus, iuris peritissimus ; Aelius Gordianus, Gordiani imperatoris parens, vir[2] insignis; Iulius Paulus, iuris peritissimus ; Claudius Venacus, orator amplissimus[3] ; Catilius Severus, cognatus eius, vir omnium doctissimus ; Aelius Serenianus, omnium vir sanctissimus ; Quintilius Marcellus, quo meliorem ne
2 historiae quidem continent. his tot atque aliis talibus viris quid mali potuit cogitari vel fieri, cum ad bonum
3 consentirent ? et hos quidem malorum cohors depulerat, quae circumvenerat Alexandrum primis diebus, sed prudentia iuvenis occisis atque depulsis et
4 amicitia ista sancta convaluit. hi sunt qui bonum principem Syrum[4] fecerunt, et item amici mali, qui Romanos pessimos etiam posteris tradiderunt, suis vitiis laborantes.

[1] *totis* Peter; *tota* P; *tuta* Eyssenhardt, Baehrens. [2] *parens uir* Mommsen; *ipsa res uiri* P; *filius scientia iuris* Peter. [3] After *amplissimus* the first Venice edition has : *Pomponius legum peritissimus, Alphenus, Aphricanus, Florentinus, Martianus, Callistratus, Hermogenes, Venuleius, Triphonius, Metianus, Celsus, Proculus, Modestinus : hi omnes iuris professores discipuli fuere splendidissimi Papiniani, et Alexandri imperatoris familiares et socii, ut scribunt Acholius et Marius Maximus ;* om. in P and rejected by Cas. and Peter; retained by Patzig, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xiii., p. 44 f. [4] *Surum* Salm., Peter; *suum* P.

[1] Perhaps the Sabinus mentioned in *Heliog.*, xvi. 2. Save for Ulpian and Paulus none of these *consiliarii* is otherwise

discovered that his friends or his kinsmen were dishonest he always punished them, but if the length of their friendship or degree of kinship did not permit of their punishment, he dismissed them from his presence, saying, "Dearer to me than all of these is the commonwealth".

LXVIII. And that you may know what men were in his council, he had Fabius Sabinus,[1] the son of the famous Sabinus and the Cato of his time; Domitius Ulpianus, the learned jurist; Aelius Gordianus, a relative of Gordian the Emperor and a famous man; Julius Paulus, the learned jurist; Claudius Venacus, a most distinguished orator; Catilius Severus, his own kinsman, the most learned of them all; Aelius Serenianus, the most highly revered of them all; Quintilius Marcellus, a more righteous man than whom is not found in history. What wicked thing could be planned or executed by all these men and others like them, when they were leagued together for good? In his early days, indeed, a band of evil men, which surrounded Alexander, had thrust these men aside, but when this company were slain or driven away by the young man's good sense, these upright friends held sway. These are the men who made the Syrian a good emperor, as likewise evil friends caused native Romans to seem evil, even to posterity, for they burdened them with the weight of their own iniquities.

known. Aelius Gordianus, if the name is correct, cannot have been a relative of the emperor Gordian, for the gentile name of the latter was Antonius.

MAXIMINI DUO

IULII CAPITOLINI

Ne fastidiosum esset Clementiae tuae, Constantine maxime, singulos quosque principes vel principum liberos per libros singulos legere, adhibui moderationem, qua in unum volumen duos Maximinos, patrem
2 filiumque, congererem. servavi deinceps hunc ordinem, quem Pietas tua etiam ab Tatio Cyrillo, Clarissimo Viro, qui Graeca in Latinum vertit, servari voluit.
3 quod quidem non in uno tantum libro sed etiam in plurimis deinceps reservabo, exceptis magnis imperatoribus, quorum res gestae plures atque clariores longiorem desiderant textum.
4 Maximinus senior sub Alexandro imperatore enituit.
5 militare autem sub Severo coepit. hic de vico

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[1] Otherwise unknown. On the title see note to *Avid. Cass.*, 1. 1.

[2] C. Julius Verus Maximinus (Thrax). The biography is constructed mainly out of material taken from Herodian (called Arrianus in c. xxxiii. 3; *Gord.*, ii. 1; *Max.-Balb.*, i. 2). This is supplemented by anecdotes and by a few statements from the "Imperial Chronicle" which appears in a reduced form in Victor's *Caesares* and Eutropius' *Breviarium;* see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxii. f. The modern tendency, however,

THE TWO MAXIMINI

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. Lest it should be distasteful to Your Clemency, great Constantine, to read the several lives of the emperors and the emperors' sons, each in a separate volume, I have practised a certain economy, in that I have compressed the two Maximini, father and son, into one single book. And from this point onward I have kept this arrangement, which Your Holiness wished also Tatius Cyrillus,[1] of the rank of the Illustrious, to keep in his translation from Greek into Latin. And I shall keep it, indeed, not in one book alone, but in most that I shall write hereafter, excepting only the great emperors; for their doings, being greater in number and fame, call for a longer recounting.

Maximinus the elder[2] became famous in the reign of Alexander; but his service in the army[3] began

is to discard as unhistoric all that is not contained in Herodian; see Hohl in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, x. 852 f.

[3] *i.e.* as a private soldier. If we may believe the statement of Zonaras (xii. 16) that he was sixty-five years old at the time of his death, he was born in 173.

Thraciae vicino barbaris, barbaro etiam patre et matre genitus, quorum alter e Gothia, alter ex Alanis genitus
6 esse perhibetur. et patri quidem nomen Micca, matri
7 Ababa fuisse dicitur. sed haec nomina Maximinus primis temporibus ipse prodidit, postea vero, ubi ad imperium venit, occuli praecepit, ne utroque parente barbaro genitus imperator esse videretur.

II. Et in prima quidem pueritia fuit pastor, iuvenum etiam procer, et[1] qui latronibus insidiaretur et suos ab
2 incursionibus vindicaret. prima stipendia equestria huic fuere. erat enim magnitudine corporis conspicuus, virtute inter omnes milites clarus, forma virili decorus, ferus moribus, asper, superbus, contemptor, saepe tamen iustus.

3 Innotescendi sub Severo imperatore prima haec fuit
4 causa: natali Getae, filii minoris, Severus militares dabat ludos propositis praemiis argenteis, id est
5 armillis, torquibus et balteolis. hic adulescens et semibarbarus et vix adhuc Latinae linguae, prope Thracica imperatorem publice petiit, ut sibi daret licentiam contendendi cum iis qui iam non mediocri
6 loco militarent. magnitudinem corporis Severus miratus primum eum cum lixis composuit, sed fortissimis quibusque, ne[2] disciplinam militarem conrumperet.

[1] *iuuenum etiam procer, et* Hohl (*Rh. Mus.*, lxx., p. 477); *nonnum etiam procerte* P; *nonnumquam etiam* †*procerte* Peter. [2] *quibus nec* P.

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[1] See note to *Pius*, v. 5.

[2] So also Jordanes (*de Rebus Geticis*, xv. 83), who narrates too the anecdote contained in c. ii. 3—iii. 6, citing as his authority Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, who evidently took it from this *vita*; see Intro. to Vol. i., p. xxiv.

under Severus. He was born in a village in Thrace bordering on the barbarians, indeed of a barbarian father and mother, the one, men say, being of the Goths, the other of the Alani.[1] At any rate, they say that his father's name was Micca, his mother's Ababa.[2] And in his early days Maximinus himself freely disclosed these names; later, however, when he came to the throne, he had them concealed, lest it should seem that the emperor was sprung on both sides from barbarian stock.[3]

II. In his early youth he was a herdsman and the leader of a band of young men, a man who would waylay marauders and protect his own folk from forays. His first military service was in the cavalry.[4] For certainly he was strikingly big of body, and notable among all the soldiers for courage, handsome in a manly way, fierce in his manners, rough, haughty, and scornful, yet often a just man.

It was in the following way that he first came into prominence in the reign of Severus. Severus, on the birthday of Geta, his younger son, was giving military games, offering various silver prizes, arm-rings, that is, and collars, and girdles. This youth, half barbarian and scarcely yet master of the Latin tongue, speaking almost pure Thracian, publicly besought the Emperor to give him leave to compete, and that with men of no mean rank in the service. Severus, struck with his bodily size, pitted him first against sutlers—all very valorous men, none the less—in order to avoid a rupture of military discipline. Whereupon

[3] Cf. *semibarbarus*, c. ii. 5, and μιξοβάρβαρος, Herodnia, vi. 8, 1.

[4] So also Herodian, vi. 8, 1.

7 tunc Maximinus sedecim lixas uno sudore devicit sedecim acceptis praemiis minusculis non militaribus
III. iussusque militare. tertia forte die cum processisset Severus ad campum, in turba exultantem more barbarico Maximinum vidit iussitque statim tribuno, ut
2 eum coerceret ac Romana disciplina[1] imbueret. tunc ille, ubi de se intellexit imperatorem locutum, suspicatus barbarus et notum se esse principi et inter multos conspicuum, ad pedes imperatoris equitantis accessit.
3 tum volens Severus explorare quantus in currendo esset, equum admisit multis circuitionibus, et cum senex imperator laborasset, neque ille a currendo per multa spatia desisset, ait ei: "Quid vis, Thracisce? num quid delectat luctari post cursum?" tum "Quan-
4 tum libet," inquit, "Imperator." post hoc ex equo Severus descendit et recentissimos quosque ac fortis-
5 simos milites ei comparari iussit. tum ille more solito septem fortissimos uno sudore vicit solusque omnium a Severo post argentea praemia torque aureo donatus est iussusque inter stipatores corporis semper in aula
6 consistere. hinc igitur factus conspicuus inter milites clarus, amari a tribunis, a conmilitonibus suspici, impetrare ab imperatore quod vellet, locis etiam militiae a Severo adiutus, cum esset peradulescens, longitudine

[1] *ac Romana disciplina* Baehrens, Lessing; *ac Romanam disciplinam* P, Peter[1].

Maximinus overcame sixteen sutlers at one sweat, and received his sixteen prizes, all rather small and not military ones, and was commanded to serve in the army. III. The second day thereafter, when Severus had proceeded to the parade-ground, he happened to espy Maximinus rioting in his barbarian way among the crowd, and immediately ordered the tribune to take him in hand and school him in Roman discipline. And he, when he perceived that the Emperor was talking about him—for the barbarian suspected both that he was known to the Emperor and conspicuous even among many—, came up to the Emperor's feet where he sat his horse. And then Severus, wishing to try how good he was at running, gave his horse free rein and circled about many times, and when at last the aged Emperor had become weary and Maximinus after many turns had not stopped running, he said to him, "What say you, my little Thracian? Would you like to wrestle now after your running?" And Maximinus answered, "As you please, Emperor". On this Severus dismounted and ordered the most vigorous and the bravest soldiers to match themselves with him; whereupon he, in his usual fashion, vanquished seven at one sweat, and alone of all, after he had gotten his silver prizes, was presented by Severus with a collar of gold; he was ordered, moreover, to take a permanent post in the palace with the body-guard. In this fashion, then, he was made prominent and became famous among the soldiers, well liked by the tribunes, and admired by his comrades. He could obtain from the Emperor whatever he wanted, and indeed Severus helped him to advancement in the service when he was still very young. In height and size and proportions, in his

autem corporis et vastitate et forma atque oculorum magnitudine et candore inter omnes excelleret.

IV. Bibisse autem illum saepe in die vini Capitolinam amphoram constat, comedisse et quadraginta libras carnis, ut autem Cordus dicit, etiam sexaginta.
2 quod satis constat, holeribus semper abstinuit, a frigidis
3 prope semper, nisi cum illi potandi necessitas. sudores saepe suos excipiebat et in calices vel in vasculum mittebat, ita ut duos vel tres sextarios sui sudoris ostenderet.
4 Hic diu sub Antonino Caracallo ordines duxit centuriatos et ceteras militares dignitates saepe tractavit. sub Macrino, quod eum qui imperatoris sui filium occiderat vehementer odisset, a militia desiit et in Thracia in vico ubi genitus fuerat possessiones comparavit ac semper cum Gothis commercia exercuit. amatus est autem unice a Getis quasi eorum civis.
5 Alani quicumque ad ripam venerunt amicum eum donis vicissim recurrentibus adprobabant.
6 Sed occiso Macrino cum filio suo, ubi Heliogabalum quasi Antonini filium imperatorem comperit, iam maturae aetatis ad eum venit petiitque, ut quod avus eius Severus iudicii circa se habuerat, et ipse haberet. sed [1] apud impurum hominem valere nihil potuit.
7 nam dicitur cum eo iocatus esse Heliogabalus

[1] *sed* om. in P.

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[1] The amphora was the unit of liquid measure, containing about 26·2 litres (= $6\frac{7}{8}$ gals.). A vessel of standard size was kept on the Capitoline Hill as a model. Various vessels have been preserved with inscriptions signifying that they contain the requisite amounts according to the Capitoline standard; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 8627-8629. For a fanciful explanation of this expression see Hohl, *Hermes*, lii. p. 472 f.

[2] See Intro. to Vol. i., p. xviii.

great eyes, and in whiteness of skin he was pre-eminent among all.

IV. It is agreed, moreover, that often in a single day he drank a Capitoline amphora[1] of wine, and ate forty pounds of meat, or, according to Cordus,[2] no less than sixty. It seems sufficiently agreed, too, that he abstained wholly from vegetables, and almost always from anything cold, save when he had to drink. Often, he would catch his sweat and put it in cups or a small jar, and he could exhibit by this means two or three pints of it.

For a long time under Antoninus Caracalla he commanded in the ranks of the centuries[3] and often held other military honours as well. But under Macrinus, whom he hated bitterly because he had slain his Emperor's son,[4] he left the service and acquired an estate in Thrace, in the village where he was born, and here he trafficked continually with the Goths. He was singularly beloved by the Getae, moreover, as if he were one of themselves. And the Alani, or at least those of them who came to the river-bank,[5] continually exchanged gifts with him and hailed him as friend.

When Macrinus and his son were slain, however, and he learned that Elagabalus was reigning as Antoninus' son,[6] he went to him, being now of mature age, and besought him to hold the same opinion of him that his grandfather Severus had done. But he could have no influence with that filthy man. For Elagabalus is said to have made sport of him

[3] On this expression see note to *Avid. Cass.*, i. 1.
[4] *i.e.* Caracalla.
[5] *i.e.* the Danube; see note to c. i. 5.
[6] See note to *Heliog.*, i. 1.

turpissime, dicens: "Diceris,[1] Maximine, sedecim et viginti et triginta milites aliquando lassasse; potes
8 tricies cum muliere perficere?" tum ille, ubi vidit in-
9 famem principem sic exorsum, a militia discessit. et tamen retentus est per amicos Heliogabali, ne hoc quoque illius famae accederet quod virum temporis sui fortissimum et quem alii Herculem, alii Achillem,
V. Aiacem alii vocabant, a suo exercitu dimoveret. fuit igitur sub homine impurissimo tantum honore tribunatus, sed numquam ad manum eius accessit, numquam illum salutavit per totum triennium huc
2 atque illuc discurrens; modo agris, modo otio, modo fictis languoribus occupatus est.

3 Occiso Heliogabalo, ubi primum[2] comperit Alexandrum principem nominatum, Romam contendit.
4 quem Alexander miro cum gaudio, mira cum gratulatione suscepit, ita[3] ut in senatu verba faceret talia: "Maximinus, patres conscripti, tribunus, cui ego latum clavum addidi, ad me confugit, qui sub impura illa belua militare non potuit, qui apud divum parentem meum Severum tantus fuit quantum illum fama
5 comperitis." statim denique illum tribunum legionis quartae ex tironibus, quam ipse composuerat, dedit et[4]

[1] *dicens:* <*diceris*> Editor; *dicens* P, Peter[1]; *diceris* Mommsen, Peter[2]. [2] Here follows in P the misplaced portion of the *Vita Alexandri*, c. xliii. 7, *fecisset et*, to c. lviii. 1, *de Isauria;* see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxxiii. The portion of the *Vita Maxim.* beginning *comperit Alexandrum* and ending *omnes qui mecum*, c. xviii. 2, has been similarly transferred to *Max.-Balb.*, viii. 2, after *homines vulgares.* [3] *ita* om. in P. [4] *et* om. in P.

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[1] Distinctive of the senatorial order; see note to *Com.*, iv. 7. This statement is evidently spurious, for Maximinus on his

most foully, saying, "You are reported, Maximinus, to have outworn at times sixteen and twenty and thirty soldiers; can you avail thirty times with a woman?" And when Maximinus saw the disgraceful prince beginning thus, he left the service. In the end, however, the friends of Elagabalus retained him, lest this also be added to Elagabalus' ill-fame, that the bravest man of his time—whom some called Hercules, others Achilles, and others Ajax—had been driven from his army. V. Under this filthy creature, therefore, he held only the honour of a tribuneship; but never did he come to take the Emperor's hand and never did he greet him, but during the whole of three years he was always hastening from one place to another; now he was occupied with his fields, now with resting, now with feigned illnesses.

On the death of Elagabalus, as soon as he learned that Alexander was proclaimed emperor, he hastened to Rome. And Alexander received him with marvellous joy and marvellous thanksgiving; indeed, in the senate he used expressions like these: "Maximinus, Conscript Fathers, the tribune to whom I have given the broad stripe,[1] has taken refuge with me—he who could not serve under that foul monster, and who, under my deified kinsman Severus, was what you know him to have been by report". He at once made him tribune of the Fourth Legion,[2] which he

elevation to the imperial power was *nondum senator;* see c. viii. 1 and also Eutropius, ix. 1.

[2] If there is any truth in this statement the legion was the *Legio IV Flavia*, quartered in Upper Moesia. That it was formed out of recruits is hardly true, and the biographer has probably confused this tribuneship with Maximinus' subsequent command of the recruits in the army on the Rhine; see c. vii. 1.

6 eum in haec verba provexit: "Veteres milites tibi, Maximine mi carissime atque amantissime, idcirco non credidi quod veritus sum ne vitia eorum sub aliis 7 inolescentia emendare non posses. habes tirones; ad tuos mores, ad tuam virtutem, ad tuum laborem eos fac militiam condiscere, ut mihi multos Maximinos rei publicae optabiles solus efficias."

VI. Accepta igitur legione statim eam exercere 2 coepit. quinta quaque die iubebat milites decurrere, inter [1] se simulacra bellorum agere. gladios, loricas, galeas, scuta, tunicas et omnia arma illorum cottidie 3 circumspicere; calciamenta quin etiam ipse prospicie- 4 bat, prorsus autem ut patrem militibus praeberet. sed cum eum quidam tribuni reprehenderent, dicentes, "Quid tantum laboras, cum eius loci iam sis, ut ducatum possis accipere?" ille dixisse fertur, "Ego 5 vero, quo maior fuero, tanto plus laborabo." exercebat cum militibus ipse luctamina, quinos, senos et septenos iam grandaevus ad terram prosternens. 6 denique invidentibus cunctis, cum quidam tribunus superbior, magni corporis, virtutis notae atque ideo ferocior, ei dixisset, "Non magnam rem facis, si tribunus tuos milites vincis," ille ait "Visne congredi- 7 amur?" cumque adversarius adnuisset, venientem contra se palma in pectus percussum supinum reiecit et continuo dixit, "Date alium, sed tribunum."

[1] *inter* Madvig; *in* P, Peter.

himself had formed out of recuits, giving him his promotion with the following words: "I have not entrusted veterans to you, my most dear and loving Maximinus, because I feared that you cannot root out the faults that have grown in them under other commanders. You have fresh recruits; after the pattern of your habits, your courage, your industry, make them learn their service, so that from yourself, who are one, you can make me many Maximini, men most desirable for the state."

VI. Having therefore accepted the legion, he immediately began to train it. On every fifth day he had his men parade in armour and fight a sham battle against one another. Their swords, corselets, helmets, shields, tunics, in fact all their arms, he inspected daily; indeed, he himself provided for their boots, so that he was exactly like a father to the troops. And when certain tribunes remonstrated with him, saying, "Why do you work so hard, now that you have attained a rank where you can become a general?" he replied, it is said, "As for me, the greater I become, the harder I shall work". He was wont also to join the soldiers at their wrestling, and he stretched them on the ground by fives, sixes, and sevens, though now an old man. Now every one became jealous, and one insolent tribune, a man of great size and proved courage, and therefore the bolder, said to him, "You do nothing very great, if you vanquish your own soldiers, being a tribune yourself". Maximinus replied, "Would you like to fight?" And when his opponent nodded assent and advanced against him, he smote him on the breast with the palm of his hand and knocked him flat on his back, then said, "Give me another, and this time a real tribune".

8 Erat praeterea, ut refert Cordus, magnitudine tanta ut octo pedes digitis sex diceretur[1] egressus, pollice ita vasto ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro anulo. 9 iam illa prope in vulgi ore sunt posita, quod hamaxas manibus adtraheret, raedam onustam solus moveret, equo si pugnum dedisset, dentes solveret, si calcem, crura frangeret, lapides toficios friaret, arbores teneriores scinderet, alii denique eum Crotoniaten Milonem, alii Herculem, Antaeum alii vocarent.

VII. His rebus conspicuum virum Alexander, magnorum meritorum iudex, in suam perniciem omni exercitui praefecit, gaudentibus cunctis ubique tribunis, 2 ducibus et militibus. denique totum eius exercitum, qui sub Heliogabalo magna ex parte torpuerat, ad suam 3 militarem disciplinam retraxit. quod Alexandro, ut diximus, optimo quidem imperatori, sed tamen cuius aetas ab initio contemni potuerit, gravissimum fuit. 4 nam cum in Gallia esset et non longe ab urbe quadam castra posuisset, subito inmissis militibus, ut quidam dicunt, ab ipso, ut alii, tribunis barbaris, Alexander ad matrem fugiens interemptus est Maximino iam 5 imperatore appellato. et causam quidem Alexandri interimendi alii aliam fuisse dicunt. quidam enim Mamaeam dicunt auctorem fuisse, ut filius deserto

[1] *digito uideretur* P.

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[1] Cf. c. xxviii. 8; his size is also commented on by Herodian; see vi. 8. 1; vii. 1. 2.

[2] This is incorrect. He was put in command of all the recruits in the army on the Rhine (probably with the title of *praefectus tironum*); see *Alex.*, lix. 7 and Herodian, vi. 8. 2.

[3] Probably Mainz; see note to *Alex.*, lix. 6.

[4] A detailed account of the mutiny of the recruits, their

He was of such size, so Cordus reports, that men said he was six inches over eight feet in height[1]; and his thumb was so huge that he used his wife's bracelet for a ring. Other stories are reported almost as common talk—that he could drag waggons with his hands and move a laden cart by himself, that if he struck his horse with his fist, he loosened its teeth, or with his heel, broke its legs, that he could crumble tufaceous stone and split saplings, and that he was called, finally, by some Milo of Croton, by others Hercules, and by others Antaeus.

VII. When these things had now made him a distinguished man, Alexander, a good judge of great worth, to his own destruction put him in command of the entire army.[2] Everyone, everywhere, was pleased—tribunes, generals, and men. So now Alexander's whole army, which had fallen into a lethargy to a great extent under Elagabalus, Maximinus brought back to his own standard of discipline. And this, as we have said, proved a very serious thing for Alexander—a very good emperor, to be sure, but one whose youth from the very beginning could readily make him an object of contempt. For when he was in Gaul, and had pitched camp not far from a certain city,[3] of a sudden the soldiers were incited against him—some say by Maximinus, others say by the barbarian tribunes—, and as he fled to his mother he was slain, while Maximinus had already been hailed emperor.[4] And, indeed, some say the cause of Alexander's death was one thing, others say another. For some maintain that Mamaea was the prime cause,

acclamation of Maximinus as *Imperator*, and the murder of Alexander is given in Herodian, vi. 8-9. See also *Alex.*, lix. 7-8.

bello Germanico orientem peteret, atque ideo mili-
6 tes in seditionem prorupisse. quidam, quod ille
nimis severus esset et voluisset ita in Gallia legiones
exauctorare ut exauctoraverat in oriente.

VIII. Sed occiso Alexandro Maximinus primus[1] e
corpore militari et nondum senator sine decreto senatus
Augustus ab exercitu appellatus est filio sibimet in
participatum dato; de quo pauca quae nobis sunt
2 cognita mox dicemus. Maximinus autem ea fuit
semper astutia, ut milites non modo[2] virtute regeret
sed etiam praemiis et lucris amantissimos redderet.
3, 4 numquam ille annonam cuiuspiam tulit. numquam
sivit ut[3] quis in exercitu miles faber aut alterius rei,
ut plerique sunt, artifex esset, solis venationibus
5 legiones frequenter exercens. sed inter has virtutes
tam crudelis fuit, ut illum alii Cyclopem, alii Busirem,
alii Scirona, nonnulli Phalarem, multi Typhona vel
6 Gygam[4] vocarent. senatus eum tantum timuit, ut

[1] *primus* Ursinus (cf. Eutrop., ix. 1; Victor, *Caes.*, xxv.); *primum* P, Peter. [2] *modo* ins. by Damsté; om. in P and Peter. [3] *ut* om. in P. [4] *Gygam* Peter; *gigantam* P.

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[1] This seems to be a blundering statement of the fact that the uprising which resulted in his death was due, at least in part, to his attempt to end the war by negotiations; see note to *Alex.*, lix. 1.

[2] See notes to *Alex.*, xii. 5.

[3] He was later accepted by the senate, and, on the 25th March, 235, received the usual honours; see *C.I.L.*, vi. 2001; 2009.

[4] His name was C. Julius Verus Maximus according to the testimony of coins and inscriptions, whereas in this biography and in Victor, *Caes.*, xxv. 2, he is incorrectly called Maximinus. He was made Caesar in 236, and was given the title *Princeps Iuventutis;* see Cohen, iv², p. 525 f., nos. 10-15. He never received the title Augustus.

as she wished her son to leave the Germanic war and go to the East, and on that account the soldiers broke out in mutiny.[1] Others say that Alexander was too strict and had wished to discharge the legions in Gaul as he had done in the East.[2]

VIII. However that may be, after Alexander was killed, Maximinus was the first man from the body of the soldiers and not yet a senator to be acclaimed Augustus by the army without a decree of the senate,[3] and his son was made his colleague.[4] And about the latter we shall tell later on[5] the few things that we know. Now Maximinus was always clever enough not to rule the soldiers by force alone; on the contrary, he made them devoted to him by rewards and riches. He never took away any man's rations; he never let any man in his army work as a smith or artisan, which most of them are, but kept the legions busy only with frequent hunting. Along with these virtues, however, went such cruelty that some called him Cyclops, some Busiris,[6] and others Sciron,[7] not a few Phalaris,[8] and many Typhon[9] or Gyges.[10] The senate was so afraid of him that prayers

[5] See c. xxvii.-xxxiii.

[6] A mythical king of Egypt who sacrificed strangers to Zeus.

[7] A robber who lived on the coast near the border of Attica and Megaris; he is said to have been killed by Theseus.

[8] Tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily about 560 B.C. He used to roast condemned persons in a bronze bull and finally himself met with this same fate.

[9] Also called Typhoeus, a hundred-headed Titan, son of Gaia and Tartarus, struck with lightning by Zeus and buried under Aetna.

[10] Also called Gyas; a giant with a hundred arms, the son of Gaia and Uranus.

vota in templis publice privatimque mulieres etiam
cum suis liberis facerent, ne ille umquam urbem
7 Romam videret. audiebant enim alios in crucem
sublatos, alios animalibus nuper occisis inclusos, alios
feris obiectos, alios fustibus elisos, atque omnia haec
sine dilectu dignitatis, cum videretur disciplinam velle
regere militarem, cuius exemplo civilia etiam corri-
8 gere voluit. quod non convenit principi qui velit
diligi. erat enim ei persuasum nisi crudelitate im-
9 perium non teneri. simul et verebatur ne propter
humilitatem generis barbarici a nobilitate contemne-
10 retur. meminerat praeterea se Romae etiam a servis
nobilium contemptum esse, ita ut ne a procuratori-
11 bus quidem eorum videretur; et, ut se habent
stultae opiniones, tales eos contra se [1] sperabat futuros,
cum iam imperator esset. tantum valet conscientia
IX. degeneris animi. nam ignobilitatis tegendae causa
omnes conscios generis sui interemit, nonnullos etiam
amicos, qui ei saepe misericordiae paupertatis causa
2 pleraque donaverant. neque enim fuit crudelius
animal in terris, omnia sic in viribus suis ponens quasi
3 non posset occidi. denique cum immortalem se
prope crederet ob magnitudinem corporis virtutisque,

[1] *se* om. in P.

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[1] His natural brutality seems to have been increased by the revolts described in c. x.-xi., but this highly-coloured account seems to be much exaggerated. His cruelty is commented on briefly by Herodian, vii. 1, 12.

were made in the temples both publicly and privately, and even by women together with their children, that he should never see the city of Rome. For they kept hearing that he hung men on the cross, shut them in the bodies of animals newly slain, cast them to wild beasts, dashed out their brains with clubs, and all this for no desire for personal authority but because he seemed to wish military discipline to be supreme, and wished to amend civil affairs on that pattern.[1] All of which does not become a prince who wishes to be loved. As a matter of fact, he was convinced that the throne could not be held except by cruelty. He likewise feared that the nobility, because of his low barbarian birth, would scorn him, remembering in this connection how he had been scorned at Rome by the very slaves of the nobles, so that not even their stewards would admit him to their presence; and as is always the way with fatuous beliefs, he expected them to be the same toward him now that he was emperor. So powerful is the mere consciousness of a low-born spirit. IX. For to hide the lowness of his birth he put to death all who had knowledge of it, some of whom, indeed, were friends who had often pitied him for his poverty and made him many presents. And never was there a more savage animal on earth than this man who staked everything on his own strength, as though he could not be killed. Eventually, indeed, when he almost believed himself immortal because of his great size and courage, a certain actor, they say, recited Greek verses in a theatre

mimus quidam in theatro praesente illo dicitur versus Graecos dixisse, quorum haec erat Latina sententia:

4 "Et qui ab uno non potest occidi, a multis occiditur.
elephans grandis est et occiditur,
leo fortis est et occiditur,
tigris fortis est et occiditur;
cave multos, si singulos non times."

5 et haec imperatore ipso praesente iam dicta sunt. sed cum interrogaret amicos, quid mimicus scurra dixisset, dictum est ei quod antiquos versus cantaret contra homines asperos scriptos; et ille, ut erat Thrax et 6 barbarus, credidit. nobilem circa se neminem passus est, prorsus ut Spartaci aut Athenionis exemplo im- 7 peraret.[1] praeterea omnes Alexandri ministros variis 8 modis interemit et[2] dispositionibus eius invidit. et dum suspectos habet amicos ac ministros eius, crudelior factus est.

X. Cum esset ita moratus, ut ferarum more viveret, tristior et inmanior factus est factione Magni cuiusdam consularis viri contra se parata, qui cum multis militibus et centurionibus ad eum confodiendum consilium 2 inierat, cum in se imperium transferre cuperet. et

[1] *imperaret* Baehrens, Lessing; *imperabat* P, Peter. [2] *et* ins. by Petschenig; om. in P and Peter.

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[1] A Thracian gladiator, who in 73 B.C. collected an army of gladiators, slaves, and desperadoes. He defeated several Roman generals but was finally overcome by Marcus Crassus.

[2] A Cilician slave, who led a slave-revolt in Sicily in 104 B.C. and terrorized the island. He was finally defeated by Manius Aquillius in 101 or 100 B.C.

[3] Herodian (vii. 1, 3) relates that he sent away all of Alex-

while he was present, the sense of which in Latin was this:

And he who cannot be slain by one, is slain by many.
The elephant is huge, and he is slain;
The lion is brave, and he is slain;
The tiger is brave, and he is slain;
Beware of many together, if you fear not one alone.

And this was recited while the Emperor himself was present. But when he asked his friends what the clown on the stage had said, they told him that he was simply singing some old verses written against violent men, and he, being a Thracian and a barbarian, believed them. He suffered no nobleman at all to be near his person, ruling in this respect precisely like Spartacus[1] or Athenio.[2] He put all of Alexander's ministers to death in one way or another and disregarded his directions.[3] And while he held Alexander's friends and ministers under suspicion, he became more cruel.

X. And now when he had already taken on the life and character of a wild beast, he was made still harsher and more savage by a revolt which Magnus, a certain man of consular rank, plotted against him.[4] This man had entered into a conspiracy with a number of soldiers and centurions to stab Maximinus,

ander's friends and counsellors, not wishing to have any noblemen in the army. This was probably the result of the revolts described in c. x.-xi.

[4] This account of the conspiracy is similar to that given by Herodian (vii. 1, 4-8), who, however, adds that all the senators in the army joined in it. Herodian also casts doubt on its genuineness, but there seems to be no good reason for supposing it to have been invented by Maximinus.

genus factionis fuit tale: cum ponte iuncto in Germanos transire Maximinus vellet, placuerat ut contrarii cum eo transirent, pons postea solveretur, ille in barbarico circumventus occideretur, imperium
3 Magnus arriperet. nam omnia bella coeperat agere, et quidem fortissime, statim ut factus est imperator, peritus utpote rei militaris, volens existimationem de se habitam tenere et ante omnes Alexandri gloriam,
4 quem ipse occiderat, vincere. quare imperator etiam in exercitio cottidie milites detinebat eratque in armis ipse, manu[1] exercitui et corpore multa semper ostendens.
5 et istam quidem factionem Maximinus ipse finxisse perhibetur, ut materiam crudelitatis augeret.
6 denique sine iudicio, sine accusatione, sine delatore, sine defensore omnes interemit, omnium bona sustulit et plus quattuor milibus[2] hominum occisis se satiare non potuit.

XI. Fuit etiam sub eodem factio desciscentibus sagittariis Osrhoenis ab eodem ob amorem Alexandri et desiderium, quem a Maximino apud eos occisum
2 esse constabat, nec aliud persuaderi potuerat. denique etiam ipsi Titum,[3] unum ex suis, sibi ducem atque imperatorem fecerunt, quem Maximinus privatum
3 iam dimiserat. quem quidem et purpura circumdederunt, regio adparatu ornarunt et quasi sui milites

[1] *manu* Cas., Peter; *magnus* P. [2] *milibus* Jordan, Peter; *militibus* P. [3] *Titum* Salm., Peter; *ticum* P.

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[1] See note to *Alex.*, lxi. 8. This account of the revolt agrees with Herodian's narrative, except that Herodian calls the leader Quartinus, a *consularis*, and his assassin Macedo; see Herodian, vii. 1, 9-10. A biography of this "Titus" is given in *Trig. Tyr.*, xxxii.

wishing thereby to get the imperial power for himself. It was a conspiracy of this sort: Maximinus wished to make a bridge and cross over against the Germans, and it was resolved that the conspirators should cross over with him and then, breaking the bridge behind them, surround Maximinus on the barbarians' side and kill him, while Magnus seized the throne. For Maximinus had begun waging all manner of wars—and very valiantly, too—as soon as he had been made emperor, inasmuch as he was skilled in the art of war and wished, on the one hand, to guard the reputation he had already won, and, on the other, to surpass in everyone's eyes the glory of Alexander, whom he had slain. For this reason, even as emperor he engaged his soldiers in exercise every day, and, indeed, himself appeared in armour and demonstrated many points to the army with his own hand and body. But about that revolt it is asserted that Maximinus himself invented it in order to make an occasion for barbarity. At any rate, without judge, accusation, prosecutor, or defence he put all of them to death and confiscated their property, and even after slaying over four thousand men he was not yet content.

XI. There was also in his reign a revolt of the Osroënian bowmen,[1] who rebelled against him through love of Alexander and regret for his loss, having agreed among themselves that Maximinus had certainly slain him; nor could they be persuaded otherwise. They accordingly made one of their number, a certain Titus, whom Maximinus had already discharged from the army, their general and emperor. Indeed, they girt him with the purple, furnished him with royal pomp, and barred access to him like the soldiers of a king,

4 obsaepserunt, et invitum quidem. sed hic dormiens domi suae ab uno ex amicis suis interfectus est, qui sibi doluit illum esse praepositum, Macedonio nomine, qui eum Maximino prodidit quique caput eius ad
5 imperatorem detulit. sed Maximinus primo ei gratias egit, postea tamen ut proditorem odio habuit et occidit.
6 his rebus in dies inmanior fiebat, ferarum more, quae vulneratae magis exulcerantur.
7 Post haec transiit in Germaniam cum omni exercitu et Mauris et Osrhoenis et Parthis et omnibus quos
8 secum Alexander ducebat ad bellum. et ob hoc maxime orientalia secum trahebat auxilia, quod nulli magis contra Germanos quam expediti sagittarii valent.
9 mirandum autem adparatum belli Alexander habuit,
XII. cui Maximinus multa dicitur addidisse. ingressus igitur Germaniam Transrhenanam per triginta[1] vel quadraginta[2] milia barbarici soli vicos incendit,[3] greges abegit, praedas sustulit, barbarorum plurimos interemit, militem divitem reduxit, cepit innumeros, et nisi Germani omnes[4] ad paludes et silvas confugissent, omnem Germaniam in Romanam ditionem
2 redegisset. ipse praeterea manu sua multa faciebat, cum etiam paludem ingressus circumventus esset a Germanis, nisi eum sui[5] cum suo equo inhaerentem
3 liberassent. habuit enim hoc barbaricae temeritatis,

[1] *triginta* Salm., Peter; *trecenta* P. [2] *quadringenta* P. [3] *incendit* om. in P. [4] *omnes* Eyssenhardt; *amnes* P; *a campis* Peter. [5] *eum sui* om. in P; *cum suo equo inhaerentem* P, Peter[1]; *eum sui equo inhaerente* Peter[2].

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[1] His campaign in Germany is described in Herodian, vii. 2.
[2] See *Alex.*, lxi. 8 and note.
[3] His campaign seems to have been in Württemberg. An

all, it must be said, against his will. But while this Titus was sleeping at his home, he was slain by one of his friends, Macedonius by name, who resented his preferment above himself, and so betrayed him to Maximinus and brought the Emperor his head. And at first Maximinus gave him thanks, but later on, hating him as a traitor, he killed him. Through these events, then, he became fiercer day by day, as wild animals grow more savage with their wounds.

After these events he crossed over into Germany[1] with the whole army and with the Moors, Osroënians, Parthians, and all the other forces that Alexander took when he went to war.[2] He took these eastern auxiliaries with him chiefly for the reason that no forces are more useful against Germans than light bowmen. And truly Alexander had constructed a splendid war-machine, and Maximinus, they say, greatly added to it. XII. He marched, then, into Germany across the Rhine, and throughout thirty or forty miles of the barbarians' country[3] he burned villages, drove away flocks, slew numbers of the barbarians themselves, enriched his own soldiers, and took a host of captives, and, had not all the Germans fled to the swamps and forests, he would have brought all Germany under Roman sway. He himself did much with his own hand, especially when he rode into a swamp[4] and would have been cut off by the Germans had not his men extricated him as he was mired with his horse. For he had that barbaric rashness which

inscription of Maximinus, found at Tübingen, seems to be a relic of his occupation of the country; see *C.I.L.*, xiii., 9083.

[4] According to Herodian, vii. 2, 6, it was to encourage his men in the pursuit.

ut putaret imperatorem manum etiam suam semper
4 debere. denique quasi navale quoddam proelium in
palude fecit plurimosque illic interemit.
5 Victa igitur Germania litteras Romam ad senatum
et populum misit se dictante conscriptas, quarum
6 sententia haec fuit: "Non possumus tantum, patres
conscripti, loqui quantum fecimus. per quadraginta
vel[1] quinquaginta milia Germanorum vicos incendi-
mus, greges abduximus, captivos abstraximus, armatos
occidimus, in palude pugnavimus. pervenissemus ad
silvas, nisi altitudo paludium nos transire non per-
7 misisset." Aelius Cordus dicit hanc omnino ipsius
8 orationem fuisse. credibile est; quid enim in hac
9 est quod non posset barbarus miles? qui pari sententia
et ad populum scripsit sed maiore reverentia, idcirco
quod senatum oderat, a quo se contemni multum
10 credebat. iussit praeterea tabulas pingi ita ut erat
bellum ipsum gestum et ante Curiam proponi, ut facta
11 eius pictura loqueretur. quas quidem tabulas post
mortem eius senatus et deponi iussit et exuri.

XIII. Fuerunt et alia sub eo bella plurima ac[2]
proelia, ex quibus semper primus victor revertit et cum
2 ingentibus spoliis atque captivis. exstat oratio eiusdem
missa ad senatum, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Brevi
tempore, patres conscripti, tot bella gessi quot nemo

[1] *uel* ins. by Peter; om. in P. [2] *ac* ins. by Peter; om. in P.

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[1] He himself assumed the cognomen Germanicus Maximus and gave it to his son; see the inscriptions in Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 488-490, and the coins in Cohen, iv², p. 505 f. He also issued coins with the legend *Victoria Germanica*, Cohen, iv², p. 515 f., nos. 105-116.

made him think that even the emperor always owed the help of his own hand. In the end, a sort of naval battle was fought in the swamp, and very many were slain.

And when he had thus conquered Germany,[1] he despatched a letter,[2] written to dictation, to the senate and people at Rome, the purport of which was this: "We cannot, Conscript Fathers, tell you all that we have done. Throughout an area of forty or fifty miles we have burned the villages of the Germans, driven off their flocks, carried away captives, killed men in arms, and fought a battle in a swamp. And we should have pushed on to the forests, had not the depth of the swamps prevented our crossing." Aelius Cordus says that this oration was entirely his own; and it is easily believed. For what is there in it of which a barbarian soldier were not capable? He wrote likewise to the people, to the same effect but with greater respect, this because of his hatred of the senate, by which, he believed, he was mightily despised. He gave orders, furthermore, for pictures to be painted and hung up before the Senate-house, illustrating the conduct of the war, in order that the art of painting, too, might tell of his exploits. But after his death the senate caused these pictures to be taken down and burned.

XIII. There were many other wars and battles in his reign, and from them all he always returned triumphant with immense plunder and numerous captives. We have an oration of his, sent to the senate, whereof this is a sample: "In a short time, Conscript Fathers, I have waged more wars than any

[1] Fictitious. Herodian merely says that one was sent.

veterum. tantum praedae in Romanum solum attuli quantum sperari non potuit. tantum captivorum adduxi ut vix sola Romana sufficiant." reliqua orationis ad hanc rem non [1] necessaria.

3 Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo concupiens usque ad Oceanum septentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem
4 redigere; quod fecisset, si vixisset, ut Herodianus dicit, Graecus scriptor, qui ei, quantum videmus, in odium Alexandri plurimum favit.

5 Sed cum Romani eius crudelitatem ferre non possent, quod delatores evocaret, accusatores inmitteret, crimina fingeret, innocentes occideret, damnaret omnes quicumque in iudicium venissent, ex ditissimis hominibus pauperrimos faceret nec aliunde nisi malo alieno pecuniam quaereret, deinde sine delicto consulares viros et duces multos interimeret, alios siccis vehelis exhiberet, alios in custodia detineret, nihil denique praetermitteret, quod ad crudelitatem videre-
6 tur operari, contra eum defectionem pararunt. nec solum Romani, sed, quia et in milites saeviebat, exercitus qui in Africa erant subita et ingenti sedi-

[1] *non* ins. by Eyssenhardt and Peter; om. in P.

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[1] Mod. Mitrowitz on the lower Save near its junction with the Danube.

[2] Herodian says nothing about an intended invasion of Sarmatia. Some sort of a war, however, must have been waged north of the Danube, for in his inscriptions of 237 and 238 he and Maximus bear the titles *Sarmaticus Maximus* and *Dacicus Maximus;* see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 488-489. Perhaps these campaigns are the *bella* mentioned in § 1.

[3] vii. 2, 9.

[4] According to Herodian, vii. 3, 4, they were thus brought to him while in Pannonia from all parts of the Empire.

of the ancients ever did. I have carried away more plunder than a man could hope for, and I have brought back so many captives that the lands of Rome scarce suffice to hold them." The rest of the oration is unnecessary for this narrative.

Germany now being set at peace, he went to Sirmium[1] with the intention of waging war against the Sarmatians[2]; and indeed in his heart he desired to bring all the northern regions up to the Ocean under Roman sway. And he would have done it had he lived, so Herodian says[3]; though Herodian was always well disposed to Maximinus, through hatred, as far as we can see, of Alexander.

But by this time the Romans could bear his barbarities no longer—the way in which he called up informers and incited accusers, invented false offences, killed innocent men, condemned all whoever came to trial, reduced the richest men to utter poverty and never sought money anywhere save in some other's ruin, put many generals and many men of consular rank to death for no offence, carried others about in waggons without food and drink,[4] and kept others in confinement, in short neglected nothing which he thought might prove effectual for cruelty—and, unable to suffer these things longer, they rose against him in revolt.[5] And not only the Romans, but, because he had been savage to the soldiers also, the armies which were in Africa rose in sudden and powerful rebellion

[5] The rapacity of Maximinus is regarded by Herodian also as the chief cause of the revolt which led to his overthrow; see vii. 3, 5-6. His exactions seem to have been due, not to personal greed, but to the need of money for his northern campaigns.

tione Gordianum senem, virum gravissimum, qui erat pro consule, imperatorem fecerunt. cuius factionis hic ordo fuit.

XIV. Erat fisci procurator in Libya, qui omnes Maximini studio spoliaverat; hic per rusticanam plebem, deinde et quosdam milites interemptus est superantes[1] eos qui rationalem in honorem Maximini defendebant. 2 sed cum viderent auctores caedis eius acrioribus remediis sibi subveniendum esse, Gordianum proconsulem, virum, ut diximus, venerabilem, natu grandiorem, omni virtutum genere florentem, ab Alexandro ex senatus consulto in Africam missum, reclamantem et se terrae adfligentem, opertum purpura imperare coegerunt, instantes cum gladiis et cum omni genere 3 telorum. et primo quidem invitus Gordianus purpuram sumpserat; postea vero, cum vidit neque filio neque familiae suae tutum id esse, volens suscepit imperium et appellatus est omnibus Afris Augustus cum filio 4 apud oppidum Thysdrum. inde propere[2] Carthaginem venit cum pompa regali et protectoribus et fascibus laureatis, unde Romam ad senatum litteras misit, quae occiso Vitaliano, duce militum praetorianorum, in odium Maximini gratanter acceptae sunt. 5 appellati etiam Gordianus senex et Gordianus iuvenis

[1] *superantes* Editor (cf. Herodian, vii. 4, 6); *per* P; †*per* Peter. [2] *propere* Peter; *per* P.

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[1] Gordian I.; see *Gord.*, ii. 2 f.

[2] This narrative of the revolt in Africa agrees with the account given in *Gord.*, vii.-x., but it is less detailed. Both are evidently taken from Herodian, vii. 4-7.

[3] On *rationalis* see note to *Alex.*, xlv. 6.

[4] Gordian II.; see *Gord.*, iv. 2 and note.

[5] About 175 km. S.E. of Carthage, near the coast.

[6] He was assassinated by the quaestor and the soldiers whom

and hailed the aged and venerable Gordian[1] who was proconsul there, as emperor. This rebellion came into being in the following manner.[2]

XIV. There was a certain imperial steward in Libya, who in his zeal for Maximinus had despoiled every one ruthlessly, until finally the peasantry, abetted by a number of soldiers, slew him, after overcoming those who out of respect for Maximinus defended the agent of the privy-purse.[3] But soon the promoters of this murder saw that they must seek relief through sharper remedies, and so, coming to the proconsul Gordian, a man, as we have said, worthy of respect, well-born, eminent in every virtue, whom Alexander had sent to Africa by senatorial decree, and threatening him with swords and every other kind of weapon, they forced him, though he cried out against it and cast himself on the ground, to assume the purple and rule. In the beginning, it is true, Gordian took the purple much against his will; but later, when he saw that this course was unsafe for his son[4] and family, he willingly undertook to rule, and at the town of Thysdrus[5] he, together with his son, was proclaimed Augustus by all the Africans. From here he went speedily to Carthage with royal pomp and guards and laurelled fasces, and sent letters to the senate at Rome. And the senate, after the murder of Vitalianus,[6] the prefect of the guard, received these with rejoicing because of their hatred for Maximinus,[7] and proclaimed both the elder and

Gordian sent to Rome with his letter to the senate; see *Gord.*, x. 5-8; Herodian, vii. 6, 5-9.

[7] The assassins of Vitalianus spread the rumour that Maximinus had been killed, and thereupon all his statues were demolished by the mob; see *Gord.*, xiii. 5-6; Herodian, vii. 6, 9—7, 1.

XV. a senatu Augusti. interfecti deinde omnes delatores, omnes accusatores, omnes amici Maximini. interfectus est Sabinus praefectus urbis percussus in populo.

2 Ubi haec gesta sunt, senatus magis timens Maximinum aperte ac libere hostes appellat Maximinum et
3 eius filium. litteras deinde mittit ad omnes provincias, ut communi saluti libertatique subveniant; quae
4 auditae sunt ab omnibus. denique ubique amici et administratores et duces, tribuni et milites Maximini
5 interfecti sunt; paucae civitates fidem hosti publico servaverunt, quae proditis iis qui missi ad eos fuerant ad Maximinum cito per indices detulerunt.

6 Litterarum senatus exemplum hoc fuit: "Senatus populusque Romanus per Gordianos principes a tristissima belua liberari coeptus proconsulibus, praesidibus, legatis, ducibus, tribunis, magistratibus ac singulis civitatibus et municipiis et oppidis et vicis et castellis salutem, quam nunc primum recipere coepit, dicit.
7 dis faventibus Gordianum proconsularem, virum sanctissimum et gravissimum senatorem, principem meruimus, Augustum appellavimus, nec solum illum, sed etiam in subsidium rei publicae filium eius Gordianum
8 nobilem iuvenem. vestrum nunc est consentire ad salutem rei publicae obtinendam et ad scelera defendenda et ad illam beluam atque illius amicos, ubicumque

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[1] They revoked the honours conferred on him, according to Herodian, vii. 7, 2. Both this statement and that of the *vita* are tantamount to saying that the senate deposed him, as it had done Didius Julianus; see *Did. Jul.*, viii. 7. Similarly, Nero, after his deposition, was formally declared a *hostis* by the senate; see Suetonius, *Nero*, xlix. 2.

[2] Neither this document nor the following "*senatus consultum*" is in Herodian, and both are evidently fictitious. An

the younger Gordian Augusti. XV. Then all the informers and accusers and all Maximinus' friends were put to death, and Sabinus, the prefect of the city, was beaten by the populace and slain.

And when this had been done, the senate, now fearing Maximinus all the more, openly and freely proclaimed him and his son enemies of the state.[1] It next despatched letters to all the provinces, asking their aid for the common safety and liberty; and all of them gave heed. Lastly Maximinus' friends and administrators, generals, tribunes, and soldiers were everywhere put to death. A few communities, however, remained loyal to the public enemy; these betrayed the messengers who had been sent to them and promptly handed them over to Maximinus by means of informers.

The following is a specimen of the letters that the senate sent out[2]: "The senate and Roman people, now beginning to be delivered from a most savage monster by the two princes Gordian, to the proconsuls, governors, legates, generals, tribunes, magistrates, and several states, municipalities, towns, villages, and fortified places, wish prosperity, which they are now just beginning to regain for themselves. With the help of the gods we have obtained the proconsul Gordian, a most righteous man and eminent senator, as emperor. We have given to him the title of Augustus, and not only to him, but also, for the further safeguarding of the state, to that excellent man Gordian his son. It is now your part to unite, that the state may be made secure, that evil doings may be repelled, and that the monster and his friends,

entirely different and equally spurious version of the "*senatus consultum*" is given in *Gord.*, xi.

9 fuerint, persequendos. a nobis etiam Maximinus cum filio suo hostis est iudicatus."

XVI. Senatus consultum autem hoc fuit: Cum ventum esset in Aedem Castorum die VI kal. Iuliarum, acceptas litteras Iunius Silanus consul ex Africa Gordiani 2 imperatoris, patris patriae, proconsulis recitavit: "Invitum me, patres conscripti, iuvenes, quibus Africa tuenda commissa est, ad imperium vocarunt. sed intuitu vestri necessitatem libens sustineo. vestrum est aestimare quid velitis. nam ego usque ad senatus 3 iudicium incertus et varius fluctuabo." lectis litteris statim senatus adclamavit: "Gordiane Auguste, di te servent. felix imperes, tu nos liberasti. salvus imperes, tu nos liberasti. per te salva res publica. omnes 4 tibi gratias agimus." item consul rettulit: "Patres conscripti, de Maximinis quid placet?" responsum est: "Hostes, hostes. qui eos occiderit, praemium 5 merebitur." item consul dixit: "De amicis Maximini quid videtur?" adclamatum est: "Hostes, hostes. 6 qui eos occiderit, praemium merebitur." item adclamatum est: "Inimicus senatus in crucem tollatur. hostis senatus ubicumque feriatur. inimici senatus vivi exurantur. Gordiani Augusti, di vos servent. 7 ambo feliciter agatis, ambo feliciter imperetis. nepoti Gordiani praeturam decernimus, nepoti Gordiani con-

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[1] At the southern corner of the Forum; three of its columns are still standing.

[2] This date is incorrect; see note to *Max.-Balb.*, xv. 7.

[3] For other acclamations see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

[4] See c. xx. 2 and note.

wherever they be, may be hunted down. We have pronounced Maximinus and his son enemies of the state."

XVI. This was the senate's decree: After they had assembled in the Temple of Castor and Pollux[1] on the sixth day before the Kalends of July,[2] Julius Silanus, the consul, read the letter which had been received from Africa from Gordian the proconsul, emperor and father of his country: "Conscript Fathers, the young men, to whom was entrusted Africa to guard, against my will have called on me to rule. But having regard to you, I am glad to endure this necessity. It is yours to decide what you wish. For myself, I shall waver to and fro in uncertainty until the senate has decided." As soon as the letter was read the senate forthwith cried out[3]: "Gordian Augustus, may the gods keep you! May you rule happily; you have delivered us. May you rule safely; you have delivered us. Through you the state is made safe. All of us, we thank you." So then the consul put the question: "Concerning the Maximini, Conscript Fathers, what is your pleasure?" They replied, "Enemies, enemies! He who slays them shall have a reward." Again the consul spoke: "Concerning the friends of Maximinus, what seems good?" And they cried out, "Enemies, enemies! He who slays them shall have a reward." And then they cried out: "Let the foe of the senate be hanged on a cross. Let the senate's enemy everywhere be smitten. Let the senate's foes be burned alive. Gordiani Augusti, may the gods keep you! Luckily may you live! Luckily may you rule! We decree the grandson of Gordian[4] the praetorship, we promise the grandson of Gordian the consulship. Let the

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sulatum spondemus. nepos Gordiani Caesar appelletur. tertius Gordianus praeturam accipiat."

XVII. Ubi hoc senatus consultum Maximinus accepit, homo natura ferus, sic exarsit, ut non hominem
2 sed beluam putares. iaciebat se in parietes, nonnumquam terrae se prosternebat, exclamabat incondite, arripiebat gladium, quasi senatum posset occidere, conscindebat vestem regiam, aulicos[1] verberibus adficiebat, et nisi de medio recessisset, ut quidam sunt
3 auctores, oculos filio adulescentulo sustulisset. causa autem iracundiae contra filium haec fuit, quod eum Romam ire iusserat, cum primum imperator factus est, et ille patris nimio amore neglexerat. putabat autem quod, si ille Romae fuisset, nihil[2] ausurus esset
4 senatus.[3] ardentem igitur iracundia amici intra cubi-
5 culum receperunt. sed cum furorem suum tenere non posset, ut oblivionem cogitationis acciperet, vino se primo die obruisse dicitur eo usque ut quid actum
6 esset ignoraret. alia die admissis amicis, qui eum videre non poterant sed tacebant atque[4] factum senatus tacite laudabant, consilium habuit quid facto
7 opus esset. de[5] consilio ad contionem processit, in qua contione multa in Afros, multa in Gordianum, plura in senatum dixit, cohortatusque milites ad communes iniurias vindicandas.

[1] *aulicos* Kellerbauer; *alios* P, Peter. [2] *et nihil* P, Peter. [3] *senatus* om. in P. [4] *atque* Obrecht; *et qui* P, Peter. [5] *sed* P.

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[1] The highly coloured description that follows is entirely lacking in Herodian and is probably an invention. Herodian says "σκυθρωπός τε ἦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλαις φροντίσι," and adds that for two days he remained in private, consulting with his friends,

grandson of Gordian be called Caesar. Let the third Gordian take the praetorship."

XVII. When this decree of the senate reached Maximinus, being by nature passionate, he so flamed with fury that you would have thought him not a man but a wild beast.[1] He dashed himself against the walls, sometimes he threw himself upon the ground, he screamed incoherently aloud, he snatched at his sword as though he could slaughter the senate then and there, he rent his royal robes, he beat the palace-attendants, and, had not the youth retreated, certain authorities affirm, he would have torn out his young son's eyes. He was enraged with his son, as it happened, because he had ordered him to go to Rome when he was first declared emperor, and this the youth, because of his excessive fondness for his father, had not done. And now Maximinus imagined that if he had been at Rome the senate would have dared none of this. Blazing with rage, then, his friends got him to his room. But still he could not control his fury, and finally, to get oblivion from his thoughts, he so soaked himself with wine on that first day, they say, that he did not know what had been done. On the next day, admitting his friends—and they indeed could not bear to see him, but stood silent and silently commended what the senate had done,—he held a council as to what he should do. From the council he proceeded to an assembly, and there said much against the Africans, much against Gordian, and more against the senate, urging his soldiers to avenge their common wrongs.

and on the third day made a speech to the soldiers, which his friends had prepared for him; see Herodian, vii. 8, 1-3.

XVIII. Contio denique omnis militaris fuit, cuius hoc exemplum est: "Conmilitones, rem vobis notam proferimus. Afri fidem fregerunt. nam quando tenuerunt? Gordianus senex debilis et morti vicinus sumpsit im-
2 perium. sanctissimi autem patres conscripti illi, qui et Romulum et Caesarem occiderunt, me hostem iudicaverunt, cum pro his pugnarem et ipsis vincerem, nec solum me sed etiam vos et omnes qui mecum[1] sentiunt, et Gordianos, patrem ac filium, Augustos vocarunt.
3 ergo si viri estis, si vires habetis, eamus contra senatum
4 et Afros, quorum omnium bona vos habebitis." dato igitur stipendio, et quidem ingenti, Romam versus cum exercitu proficisci coepit.

XIX. Sed Gordianus in Africa primum a Capeliano quodam agitari coepit, cui Mauros regenti successorem
2 dederat. contra quem filium iuvenem cum misisset, acerrima pugna interfecto filio ipse laqueo vitam finiit, sciens et in Maximino multum esse roboris et in Afris
3 nihil virium, multum quin immo perfidiae. tunc Capelianus victor pro Maximino omnes Gordiani mortui[2] partium in Africa interemit atque proscripsit nec cuiquam pepercit, prorsus ut ex animo Maximini vide-
4 retur haec facere. civitates denique subdidit,[3] fana

[1] Here ends the portion of this *Vita* that has been transferred in P to *Max.-Balb.*, viii. 2; see note to c. v. 3.
[2] *mortui* Lenze; *metu* P, Peter; *metu* del. by Cas. [3] *subdidit* Peter; *subtit* P[1]; *subuertit* P corr.

[1] This speech bears no resemblance to that attributed to him by Herodian. Still another version is given in *Gord.*, xiv. 1-4.
[2] An allusion to the proverbial bad faith of the ancient Carthaginians; see Livy, xxi. 4, 9 (of Hannibal), *perfidia plus quam Punica.* See also *Gord.*, xiv. 1; xv. 1; xvi. 3.
[3] According to one version of the myth, Romulus was murdered by the senators; see Livy, i. 16, 4.

XVIII. His speech was altogether that of a soldier,[1] this being the general purport of it: "Fellow soldiers, we are revealing something you already know. The Africans have broken faith. When did they ever keep it?[2] Gordian, a feeble old man on the brink of death, has assumed the imperial office. Those most sacred Conscript Fathers, who murdered Romulus[3] and Caesar, have pronounced me a public enemy, me, who fought for them and conquered for them too; and not only me but you also, and all who stand with me. The Gordians, both father and son, they have called Augusti. If you are men, then, if there is any might in you, let us march now against the senate and the Africans, and you shall have the goods of them all." He then gave them a bounty—and a huge one, too—and turning towards Rome began to march thither with his army.

XIX. But now Gordian began to be harassed in Africa by a certain Capelianus,[4] whom he had deposed from the governorship of the Moors. And when finally he sent his son against him, and his son after a desperate battle was killed, the old man hanged himself, well knowing that there was much strength in Maximinus and in the Africans none, nay rather only a great faculty for betraying. And forthwith Capelianus, the victor, in the name of Maximinus slew and outlawed all of the dead Gordian's party in Africa, sparing none. Indeed, he seemed to perform these duties quite in Maximinus' own temper. He overthrew cities, ravaged shrines, divided gifts among his

[4] He was governor of Numidia, which adjoined the province of Africa on the east. A fuller account of his overthrow of the Gordians is given in *Gord.*, xv.-xvi. and Herodian, vii. 9.

diripuit, donaria militibus divisit, plebem et principes
5 civitatum concidit. ipse praeterea militum animos
sibi conciliabat, proludens ad imperium, si Maximinus
perisset.

XX. Haec ubi Romam nuntiata sunt senatus, Maximini et naturalem et iam necessariam crudelitatem timens mortuis duobus Gordianis, Maximum ex praefecto urbi et qui plurimas dignitates praecipue gessisset, ignobilem genere sed virtutibus clarum, et Balbinum,[1] moribus delicatiorem, imperatores creavit.
2 quibus a populo Augustis appellatis per milites et eundem populum etiam parvulus nepos Gordiani
3 Caesar est dictus. tribus igitur imperatoribus contra
4 Maximinum fulta res publica est. horum tamen Maximus vita severior, prudentia gravior, virtute con-
5 stantior. denique ipsi contra Maximinum et senatus
6 et Balbinus bellum crediderunt. profecto igitur ad bellum Maximo contra Maximinum Balbinus Romae bellis intestinis et domesticis seditionibus urguebatur

[1] *et Balbinum* om. in P[1]; *et Clodium Balbinum* (cf. *Gord.*, x. 1; xxii. 1) P corr., Peter.

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[1] The senate had previously, after the deposition of Maximinus (c. xv. 2), appointed a commission of *XX viri rei publicae curandae* to provide for the defence of Italy in the absence of the newly-named emperors, see c. xxxii. 3; *Gord.*, x. 1-2; xxii. 1; *C.I.L.* xiv. 3902; Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1186.

[2] M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus, one of the *XX viri.* For his "biography" see *Max.-Balb.*, v.-vi.

[3] D. Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, also one of the *XX viri.* He is incorrectly called Clodius Balbinus in *Gord.*, x. 1; xxii. 1. For his "biography" see *Max.-Balb.*, vii.

[4] Afterwards Gordian III.; see *Gord.* xxii. f.

[5] Also described in *Max.-Balb.*, ix.-x. A much fuller account is given by Herodian (vii. 10, 5—12, 4), whose narrative differs from that of the *Historia Augusta* in placing the first riot (as

soldiers, and slaughtered common folk and nobles in the cities. At the same time he strove to win over the affections of his soldiers, playing for the imperial power himself in the event that Maximinus perished.

XX. When news of these events was brought to Rome, the senate, fearing Maximinus' barbarity—natural at all times and inevitable now that the two Gordians were dead,—elected two other emperors,[1] Maximus,[2] who had been prefect of the city and had held many other offices with distinction before that, humble by birth but eminent by his virtues, and Balbinus,[3] who was somewhat fonder of pleasure. These were acclaimed Augusti by the people; and by the soldiers and the same people the little grandson of Gordian[4] was hailed as Caesar. With three emperors, therefore, was the state propped against Maximinus. Maximus, however, was the most rigorous of life, the most sagacious, and the most uniformly courageous of the three, so finally both the senate and Balbinus entrusted the war against Maximinus to him. But after Maximus had set out to war against Maximinus, Balbinus was beset with civil war and domestic disturbances at Rome,[5] especially after two soldiers of the praetorian guard were slain by the populace at the

a result of which the populace forced the senate to give the young Gordian the name Caesar) *before* the departure of Maximus. The second riot (which was *subsequent* to Maximus' departure) was the result of the action of Gallicanus and Maecenas, two senators, who assaulted some praetorian soldiers, who had entered the Senate-house, and then incited the populace to attack the guard. Fierce fighting ensued, which Balbinus was powerless to prevent. The much abridged narrative in the present passage has been rendered unintelligible by the lacuna in the text. The two riots are hopelessly confused in *Gord.*, xxii. 7—xxiii. 1.

occisis praecipue[1] . . . per populum Gallicano et Maecenate. qui quidem populus a praetorianis laniatus est, cum Balbinus resistere seditionibus non satis posset. denique magna pars urbis incensa est.
7 Et recreatus quidem imperator fuerat Maximinus audita morte Gordiani atque eius filii Capeliani
8 victoria. verum ubi aliud senatus consultum accepit, quo Maximus et Balbinus et Gordianus imperatores appellati sunt, intellexit senatus odia esse perpetua et se vere hostem omnium iudicio haberi.
XXI. acrior denique Italiam ingressus est. ubi cum comperisset Maximum contra se missum, vehementius
2 saeviens quadrato agmine Emonam venit. sed provincialium omnium consilium hoc fuit, ut sublatis omnibus quae victum praebere possent intra civitates se reciperent, ut Maximinus cum exercitu fame
3 urgueretur. denique ubi primum castra in campo posuit neque quicquam commeatuum repperit, incensus contra eum exercitus suus, quod fame in Italia laboraret, in qua post Alpes recreari se posse credebat, murmurare primum coepit, deinde etiam aliqua libere
4 dicere. haec cum vellet vindicare, multum exarsit exercitus sed[2] odium tacitum in tempus distulit, quod
5 loco suo statim prodidit. plerique sane dicunt ipsam Emonam vacuam et desertam inventam esse a Maximino, stulte laetante quod quasi sibi civitas tota cessisset.

[1] Peter suggests as a reading to fill the lacuna: *praecipue* <*duobus praetorianis a Gallicano et Maecenate et instigantibus contra praetorianos*> [*per*] *populum*; cf. *Gord.*, xxii. 8.
[2] *sed* Peter; *et* P.

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[1] Mod. Laibach in Carniola. His advance from Sirmium is described by Herodian, viii. 1, 1-4.

instigation of Gallicanus and Maecenas. The populace, indeed, were cruelly butchered by the guard when Balbinus proved unable to quell the uprising. And in the end a great part of the city was burned.

Meanwhile the Emperor Maximinus had been greatly cheered by hearing of the death of Gordian and Capelianus' victory over his son. But when he received the second decree of the senate, in which Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian were declared emperors, he then realized that the senate's hatred for him was never to end and that everyone really considered him an enemy. XXI. Hotter than ever, then, he pushed on into Italy. He then learned that Maximus had been sent against him, and in a violent rage came up to Emona[1] in line of battle. But the plan agreed on for all the provincials was this[2]: that they should gather up everything that could be useful for the commissariat and retire within the cities in order that Maximinus and his army might be pinched by famine. And, indeed, when he pitched camp on the plain for the first time and found no provisions, his army was incensed at him because they suffered from hunger even in Italy, where they expected to be refreshed after the Alps, and they began at first to murmur and then indeed to speak out openly. And when Maximinus attempted to punish this, the army was much inflamed, but silently stored up its hate for the moment and produced it again at the proper time. Many authorities say that Maximinus found Emona empty and abandoned, and foolishly rejoiced because the entire city, as it seemed, had retreated before him.[3]

[2] See c. xxiii. 2; *Max.-Balb.* x. 1-2.
[3] So Herodian, viii. 1, 5.

6 Post hoc Aquileiam venit, quae contra eum armatis circa muros dispositis portas clausit, nec propugnatio[1] defuit Menophilo et Crispino consularibus viris auctori-
XXII. bus. cum igitur frustra obsideret Aquileiam Maximinus, legatos in eandem urbem misit. quibus populus paene consenserat, nisi Menophilus cum collega restitisset, dicens etiam deum Belenum per haruspices
2 respondisse[2] Maximinum esse vincendum. unde etiam postea Maximiniani milites iactasse dicuntur Apollinem contra se pugnasse debere, nec illam Maximi aut senatus sed deorum fuisse victoriam.
3 quod quidam idcirco ab his fictum esse dicunt, quod erubescebant armati sic paene ab inermibus
4 victi. ponte itaque cupis facto Maximinus fluvium
5 transiit et de proximo Aquileiam obsidere coepit. ingens autem oppugnatio et discrimen tunc fuit, cum se cives sulphure et flammis ceterisque huiusmodi propugnaculis a militibus defenderent; quorum alii nudabantur armis, aliorum vestes incendebantur, aliorum oculi exstinguebantur, diruebantur etiam
6 machinamenta. inter haec Maximinus cum filio adulescente, quem Caesarem appellaverat, circumire muros, quantum a teli iactu satis tutus esse posset,

[1] *propugnatio* Salm., Peter; *oppugnatio* P. [2] *pondisse* P; *spopondisse* Edit. princ.

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[1] They had been sent to Aquileia for that purpose by the senate; see *Max.-Balb.* xii. 2; Herodian, viii. 1, 5.

[2] A deity worshipped in several places in Venetia and the Carnic Alps, as many inscriptions in his honour testify. To judge from § 2 and Herodian (viii. 3, 8), he was akin to Apollo.

[3] The Sontius, mod. Isonzo. According to Herodian, it was sixteen miles from Aquileia, and as it was swollen by the melt-

After this he came to Aquileia, which shut its gates against him and posted armed men about the walls. Nor did the defence lack vigour, being conducted by Menophilus and Crispinus,[1] both men of consular rank. XXII. So when Maximinus found he was besieging Aquileia in vain, he sent envoys to the city. And the people had almost yielded to them, had not Menophilus and his colleague opposed it, saying that the god Belenus[2] had declared through the soothsayers that Maximinus would be conquered. Whence afterwards the soldiers of Maximinus boasted, it is said, that Apollo must have fought against them, and that really victory belonged not to the senate and Maximus but to the gods. But, on the other hand, it is said that they advanced this theory because they blushed, armed men as they were, to have been defeated by men practically unarmed. At any rate, after making a bridge of wine-casks, Maximinus crossed the river[3] and began to invest Aquileia closely. And terrible then was both the assault and the danger, for the townsmen defended themselves from the soldiers with sulphur, fire, and other defensive devices of this same kind[4]; and of the soldiers some were stripped of their arms, others had their clothing burned, and some were blinded, while the investing engines were completely destroyed. Amid all this Maximinus, with his young son whom he had entitled Caesar, strode about the walls, just far enough off to be safe from the throw of javelins, and besought now

ing snow and the bridge had been destroyed by the natives it delayed Maximinus for three days; see viii. 4, 1-4.

[4] In c. xxxiii. 1; *Max.-Balb.*, xi. 3; xvi. 5 the picturesque (but probably unhistoric) detail is added that the women of Aquileia gave their hair for bowstrings.

7 nunc suos verbis, nunc oppidanos rogare. verum nihil profecit. nam multa et in eum crudelitatis causa et in filium, qui speciosissimus erat, probra congesta sunt.

XXIII. Quare Maximinus sperans suorum ignavia bellum trahi duces suos interemit, eo tempore quo minime oportebat. unde sibi milites etiam iratiores 2 reddidit. huc accedebat quod deficiebatur commeatibus, quia senatus ad omnes provincias et portuum custodes litteras dederat, ne aliquid com- 3 meatuum in Maximini potestatem veniret. miserat praeterea per omnes civitates praetorios et quaestorios viros, qui ubique custodias agerent et omnia contra 4 Maximinum defenderent. effectum denique est ut 5 obsessi angustias obsidens ipse pateretur. nuntiabatur inter haec orbem terrarum consensisse in iodium 6 Maximini. quare timentes milites, quorum adfectus in Albano monte erant, medio forte die, cum a proelio quiesceretur, et Maximinum et filium eius in tentorio positos occiderunt eorumque capita praefixa contis 7 Aquileiensibus demonstrarunt. in oppido igitur vicino statim Maximini statuae atque imagines depositae sunt, et eius praefectus praetorii occisus est cum amicis clarioribus. missi etiam Romam capita sunt eorum.

XXIV. Hic finis Maximinorum fuit, dignus crudelitate patris, indignus bonitate filii. quibus mortuis ingens laetitia provincialium, dolor gravissimus barbarorum.

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[1] See *Max.-Balb.*, x. 1.

[2] The *Legio II. Parthica;* see note to *Carac.*, ii. 7.

[3] Another version is given in c. xxxii. 5.

[4] Especially the Pannonian and Thracian soldiers, who had made him emperor; see Herodian, viii. 6, 1.

his own men, now the men of the town. But it profited him nothing. For against him, because of his cruelty, and against his son, who was a most beautiful creature, the townsmen merely hurled abuse.

XXIII. And so now Maximinus, flattering himself that the war was being prolonged by the cowardice of his men, put his generals to death, just at the time when he could least afford to do so; by which act he made his soldiers still further enraged against him. In addition to that, he now ran short of provisions, because the senate had sent letters to all the provinces and to the overseers of ports to prevent any provisions coming into Maximinus' power. It had sent praetors and quaestors throughout all the cities, moreover, to keep guard everywhere and defend everything against Maximinus.[1] Finally, it came to pass that he himself, while besieging, suffered the distress of one besieged. At this juncture it was announced that the whole world was agreed in hatred of Maximinus. And so some of the soldiers, whose wives and children were on the Alban Mountain,[2] becoming fearful, in the middle of the day, when they rested from the fighting, slew Maximinus and his son as they lay in their tent,[3] and putting their heads on poles, showed them to the citizens of Aquileia. And thereupon in the neighbouring town the statues and portraits of Maximinus were immediately thrown down and his prefect of the guard, together with his more notable friends, were slain. Their heads were sent to Rome.

XXIV. This was the end of the Maximini, worthy the cruelty of the father, unworthy the goodness of the son. Among the provincials there was tremendous rejoicing at their death, but among the barbarians[4] the most grievous sorrow.

2 Sed milites interfectis publicis hostibus recepti sunt ab oppidanis rogantes, et primum ita ut ante imagines Maximi et Balbini et Gordiani adorarent, cum omnes dicerent priores Gordianos in deos relatos. 3 post hoc ingens ex Aquileia commeatus in castra, quae laborabant fame, propere[1] traductus refectisque[2] militibus alia die ad contionem ventum est, et omnes in Maximi et Balbini verba iurarunt, Gordianos priores divos appellantes.

4 Dici vix potest quanta laetitia fuerit, cum Romam per Italiam caput Maximini ferretur, occurrentibus 5 cunctis ad gaudium publicum. et Maximus quidem, quem multi Pupienum putant, apud Ravennam bellum parabat per Germanorum auxilia. qui ubi[3] comperit consensisse exercitum sibi et collegis suis, occisos 6 autem esse Maximinos, statim[4] dimissis Germanorum auxiliis, quae sibi contra hostem paraverat, Romam laureatas litteras misit. quae in urbe[5] ingentem laetitiam fecerunt, ita ut omnes per aras et templa 7 et sacella et loca religiosa gratias agerent. Balbinus autem, homo timidior natura et qui, cum Maximini nomen audiret, etiam tremeret, hecatomben fecit iussitque per omnes civitates pare sacrificio supplicari. 8 deinde Maximus Romam venit senatumque ingressus

[1] *propere* Peter[1], Jordan; *p̃* P; *pretio* Peter[2]. [2] *refectisque* Peter; *fecistisque* P. [3] *qui ubi* P, Novák; *atque ibi* Peter. [4] *quare statim* P, Peter; *quare* del. by Eyssenhardt and Novák. [5] *urbe* Damsté; *urbem* P, Peter.

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[1] On their deification see *Max.-Balb.*, iv. 1-3.
[2] See note to c. xxxiii. 4. [3] See *Max.-Balb.*, xi. 1.
[4] This is an error, for they came to Rome with him; see *Max.-Balb.*, xiii. 5.
[5] See note to *Alex.*, lviii. 1.
[6] See *Max.-Balb.*, xi. 4-6.

And now that the public enemies were slain, the soldiers were taken in by the townsfolk at their own request—but on condition that they would worship before the portraits of Maximus and Balbinus and also of Gordian, for all told them that the elder Gordians had been placed among the gods.[1] This done, a mighty store of provisions was speedily carried from Aquileia to the camp, which was suffering from hunger, and after the soldiers were refreshed, on a later day they came to an assembly. And there they all swore allegiance to Maximus and Balbinus, and hailed the elder Gordians as divine.

One can scarcely describe how great the joy was when the head of Maximinus was carried through Italy to Rome. From all sides folk came running as to a public holiday. Maximus, whom many call Pupienus,[2] was at Ravenna, preparing with the aid of German auxiliaries for war[3]; but when he learned that the army had come over to himself and his colleagues, and that the Maximini were slain, he at once dismissed the German auxiliaries,[4] whom he was getting ready against the enemy, and sent a laurelled letter[5] to Rome. And this caused unbounded rejoicing in the city; indeed at altars, temples, shrines, and holy places everywhere, everyone offered up thanks. As for Balbinus, a somewhat timid soul by nature, who trembled when he heard Maximinus' very name, he sacrificed a hecatomb[6] and gave orders that the gods should be worshipped with an equal sacrifice in every town. Soon thereafter Maximus came to Rome,[7] and after going into the senate,[8]

[7] He went first to Aquileia to receive the surrender of Maximinus' army; see *Max.-Balb.*, xii. 3.

[8] See *Max.-Balb.*, xiii. 1-2.

actis sibi gratiis contionem habuit, atque inde in Palatium cum Balbino et Gordiano victores se receperunt.

XXV. Interest scire quale senatus consultum fuerit vel qui dies urbis, cum est nuntiatus interemptus Maximinus. iam primum is, qui ex Aquileiensi Romam missus fuerat, tanto impetu mutatis animalibus cucurrit, ut quarta die Romam veniret, cum apud Ravennam Maximum reliquisset. et forte dies ludorum erat, cum subito sedente Balbino et Gordiano theatrum nuntius ingressus est, atque, antequam aliquid indicaretur, omnis populus exclamavit, "Maximinus occisus est." ita et nuntius praeventus et imperatores, qui aderant, gaudium publicum nutu et consensu indicaverunt. soluto igitur spectaculo omnes statim ad suas religiones convolarunt, atque inde ad senatum principes, populus ad contionem cucurrerunt.

XXVI. Senatus consultum hoc fuit: Recitatis in senatu per Balbinum Augustum litteris adclamavit senatus: "Hostes populi Romani[1] di persequuntur. Iuppiter optime, tibi gratias. Apollo venerabilis, tibi gratias. Maxime Auguste, tibi gratias. Balbine Auguste, tibi gratias. Divis Gordianis templa decernimus. Maximini nomen olim erasum nunc animis eradendum. hostis publici caput in profluentem abiciatur. corpus eius nemo sepeliat. qui senatui mortem minatus est, ut

[1] So P, Peter[1]; <*senatus*> *hostes*, *populi R.* <*hostes*> Kellerbauer, Peter[2].

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[1] These acclamations cannot, of course, be properly called a *senatus consultum*. On acclamations see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

[2] *i.e.* from the public records and his inscriptions, as in

where thanks were offered him, he held an assembly, whence he and Balbinus and Gordian victoriously betook themselves to the Palace.

XXV. It is of interest to know what sort of decree the senate passed and what the day was in the city, when it was announced that Maximinus was slain. For, in the first place, the messenger who had been sent to Rome from Aquileia, by changing his horses managed to gallop with such speed that he reached Rome on the third day after leaving Maximus at Ravenna. As it happened, games were being held that day, when suddenly, while Balbinus and Gordian were seated, the messenger entered the theatre; and at once, before he uttered a word, the people cried out with one voice, "Maximinus is dead!" Thus the messenger was anticipated and the Emperors, who were present, by nodding in assent expressed the public rejoicing. The performance, then, being brought to a close, everyone immediately rushed to his religious duties, and thereafter the nobles sped to the Senate-house, the people to the assembly.

XXVI. The decree of the senate was as follows:[1] After the Emperor Balbinus Augustus had read the letter, the senate cried: "The gods take vengeance on the foes of the Roman people. Most great Jupiter, we give you thanks. Revered Apollo, we give you thanks. Maximus Augustus, we give you thanks. Balbinus Augustus, we give you thanks. We decree temples for the Deified Gordians. The name of Maximinus, previously expunged,[2] is now to be stricken from our hearts. Let the head of the public foe be cast into running water. Let no man bury his body.

Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 487-489. This measure was probably included in the formal act of deposition; see c. xv. 2.

merebatur, occisus est. qui senatui vincula minatus est,
4 ut debebat, interemptus est. sanctissimi imperatores, gratias vobis agimus. Maxime, Balbine, Gordiane, di vos servent. victores hostium omnes desideramus. praesentiam Maximi omnes desideramus. Balbine Auguste, di te servent. praesentem annum consules vos ornetis. in loco Maximini Gordianus sufficiatur."
5 post rogatus sententiam Cuspidius Celerinus haec verba habuit: "Patres conscripti, eraso nomine Maximinorum appellatisque divis Gordianis victoriae causa principibus nostris Maximo, Balbino et Gordiano statuas cum elephantis decernimus, currus triumphales decernimus, statuas equestres decernimus, tropaea de-
6 cernimus." post haec misso senatu supplicationes
7 per totam urbem decretae. victores principes in Palatium se receperunt, de quorum vita in alio libro deinceps dicemus.

MAXIMINUS IUNIOR

XXVII. De[1] huius genere superius dictum est, ipse autem pulchritudinis fuit tantae, ut passim amatus sit a procacioribus feminis. nonnullae etiam optaverunt
2 de eo concipere. proceritatis videbatur posse illius esse, ut ad paternam staturam perveniret, si quidem anno vicensimo et primo periit, in ipso flore iuventutis, ut aliqui autem dicunt octavo decimo, litteris et Graecis et Latinis imbutus ad primam disciplinam.

[1] *de* om. in P.

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[1] Otherwise unknown.

He who threatened death to the senate is slain as he deserved. He who threatened chains for the senate is killed as he deserved. Most reverend Emperors, we offer you thanks. Maximus, Balbinus, Gordian, may the gods keep you! victorious over your foes, we all desire your presence. We all desire the presence of Maximus. Balbinus Augustus, may the gods keep you! Honour the present year by being this year's consuls. In the place of Maximinus let Gordian be chosen." After this, Cuspidius Celerinus,[1] being asked for his opinion, spoke thus: "Conscript Fathers, having expunged the name of the Maximini and deified the Gordians, in honour of the victory we decree to our princes Maximus, Balbinus, and Gordian statues with elephants, triumphal cars, equestrian statues, and trophies of victory". After this, the senate being dissolved, supplications were ordered throughout the whole city. The princes betook them victoriously to the Palace, but of their lives we shall write later in another book.

MAXIMINUS THE YOUNGER.

XXVII. The descent of the younger Maximinus[2] has been related above. He himself was so beautiful that the more wanton of women loved him indiscriminately, and not a few desired to be gotten with child by him. He gave such promise of height, moreover, that he might have reached his father's stature had he not perished in his twenty-first year, in the very flower of his youth, or, as some say, in his eighteenth. Even so, he was well versed in Greek and Latin

[2] On the correct form of his name and his titles see note to c. viii. 1.

3 nam usus est magistro Graeco litteratore Fabillo, cuius epigrammata Graeca multa et exstant, maxime
4 in imaginibus ipsius pueri. qui versus Graecos fecit ex illis Latinis Vergilii, cum ipsum puerum describeret:

> Qualis ubi Oceani perfusus lucifer unda
> extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit,
> talis erat iuvenis patrio sub nomine clarus.

5 grammatico Latino usus est Philemone, iuris perito Modestino, oratore Titiano, filio Titiani senioris, qui provinciarum libros pulcherrimos scripsit et qui dictus est simia temporis sui, quod cuncta esset imitatus. habuit et Graecum rhetorem Eugamium sui temporis clarum.

6 Desponsa illi erat Iunia Fadilla, proneptis Antonini; quam postea accepit Toxotius, eiusdem familiae senator, qui periit post praeturam, cuius etiam poemata
7 exstant. manserunt autem apud eam arrae regiae, quae tales (ut Iunius Cordus loquitur, qui harum

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[1] Fabillus, like Philemon and Eugamius, mentioned in § 5, is otherwise unknown.

[2] *Aeneid*, viii. 589 and 591, describing Pallas, son of Evander; the third line is not in the *Aeneid*.

[3] Perhaps Herennius Modestinus, a jurist and a pupil of Ulpian; see *Digesta*, xlvii. 2, 52, 20.

[4] Probably Julius Titianus, whose *Chorographia* (Servius on Vergil, *Aen.*, iv. 42) is probably the *provinciarum libri* of this passage. In Ausonius, *Epist.*, i. 1 he is named as the author of letters of famous women and dubbed *Oratorum Simia*. The son is included in a list of imperial tutors in Ausonius, *Grat. Actio*, vii. 31; he is probably the translator of fables mentioned by Ausonius, *Epist.*, xvi. 78.

[5] Not otherwise known, and probably, in view of the general

letters, for he got his first schooling under the Greek man of letters Fabillus,[1] many of whose Greek epigrams are extant today, chiefly on statues of the boy himself. This Fabillus also made Greek verses from those Latin lines of Vergil, meaning to describe this same boy:

"Like to the star of the morning when he, new-bathèd in Ocean,
Raises his holy face and scatters the darkness from heaven,[2]
So did the young man seem, fair-famed in the name of his father."

Latin grammar he studied under Philemon, jurisprudence under Modestinus,[3] and oratory under Titianus, the son of that elder Titianus[4] who wrote a very beautiful work on the provinces and was called the ape of his age because he imitated everything. He employed also the Greek rhetorician Eugamius, who was famous in his day.

Junia Fadilla,[5] the great-granddaughter of Antoninus, was betrothed to him; but afterwards she was espoused by Toxotius, a senator of the same family, who died after serving his praetorship, certain poems of his being extant today. The regal betrothal-gifts that he had presented her with, however, she kept. Junius Cordus, who was an investigator of these things,

character of this *vita*, to be regarded as apocryphal, as is also Toxotius. At the end of the fourth century the Toxotii were prominent in Roman society, and on the theory that the name was introduced here in honour of them, its presence has been used as an argument for the contention that the *Historia Augusta* is a work of the late fourth century; see Dessau, *Hermes*, xxiv., p. 351.

8 rerum persecutor est[1]) fuisse dicuntur: monolinum de albis novem, reticulum cum[2] prasinis undecim, dextrocherium cum costula de hyacinthis quattuor. praeter vestes auratas et omnes regias[3] ceteraque insignia sponsaliorum.

XXVIII. Adulescens autem ipse Maximinus superbiae fuit insolentissimae, ita ut etiam, cum pater suus, homo crudelissimus, plerisque honoratis adsurgeret, ille
2 resideret, vitae laetioris, vini parcissimus, cibi avidus, maxime silvestris, ita ut nonnisi aprunam, anates,
3 grues et omnia captiva ederet. infamabant eum ob nimiam pulchritudinem amici Maximi et Balbini et Gordiani et maxime senatores, qui speciem illam velut divinitus lapsam incorruptam esse noluerunt.
4 denique illo tempore quo circum Aquileiam muros circumiens cum patre deditionem urbis petebat, nihil aliud ei quam spurcities obiecta est, quae longe ab
5 illius fuit vita. vestibus tam adcuratus fuit ut nulla
6 mulier nitidior esset in mundo. amicis paternis inmane quantum obsecutus est, sed ut donaret ac
7 largiretur. nam in salutationibus superbissimus erat et manum porrigebat et genua sibi osculari patiebatur, nonnumquam etiam pedes; quod numquam passus est senior Maximinus, qui dicebat: "Di prohibeant, ut quisquam ingenuorum pedibus meis osculum figat."
8 et quoniam ad Maximinum seniorem revertimur, res iucunda praetereunda non est. nam cum esset Maximinus pedum, ut diximus, octo et prope semis, calciamentum eius, id est campagum regium, quidam in

[1] <*qui*> *h. r. persecutor est* Lenze; *h. r. persecutores* P; <*ut*> *h. r. persecutor est* Petschenig, Peter[2]. [2] *cum* ins. by Peter; om. in P. [3] *omnes regias* P, Damsté, Lenze; *gemmis ornatas* Peter.

says that they were such as these: a necklace of nine pearls; a net-work cap with eleven emeralds; a bracelet with a row of four sapphires; and besides these, gowns worked with gold, all of them royal, and other betrothal pledges.

XXVIII. The young man Maximinus was most excessively insolent; indeed, when even his father, a very hard man, rose to greet many distinguished men, he remained seated. He was fond of gay living, very sparing in the use of wine, but voracious in respect to food, especially game, eating only boar's flesh, ducks, cranes, and everything that is hunted. The friends of Maximus, Balbinus and Gordian, and particularly the senators, spoke ill of him because of his excessive beauty; for they were not willing that his beauty, fallen, as it were, from heaven, should be pure. Indeed, that time when he walked about the walls of Aquileia with his father, asking its surrender, nothing but filthy insinuations were hurled at him,[1]—though far removed from his real life. He was very careful of his dress, and no woman was more elegantly groomed. It was monstrous how his father's friends fawned on him, in hopes chiefly of gifts or largess. For he was exceedingly haughty at his levees—he stretched out his hand, and suffered his knees to be kissed, and sometimes even his feet. This the elder Maximinus never permitted; for he said "God forbid that any free man should ever print a kiss on my feet". And while we are speaking of the elder Maximinus we should not forbear to mention this amusing thing: as we have said,[2] Maximinus was almost eight and a half feet tall; and certain men deposited a shoe of his,

[1] See c. xxii. 6—7. [2] See c. vi. 8.

luco, qui est inter[1] Aquileiam et Arciam, posuerunt, quod constitit pede maius fuisse hominis vestigii
9 mensura. unde etiam vulgo tractum est, cum de longis et ineptis hominibus diceretur "caliga Maxi-
10 mini." quod idcirco indidi, ne qui Cordum legeret me praetermisisse crederet aliquid quod ad rem[2] pertineret. sed redeam ad filium.

XXIX. De hoc adulescente Alexander Aurelius ad matrem suam scribit Mamaeam, cupiens ei sororem
2 suam Theocliam dare, in haec verba: "Mi mater, si Maximinus senior, dux noster et quidem optimus, non aliquid in se barbarum contineret, iam ego
3 Maximino iuniori Theocliam tuam dedissem. sed timeo ne soror mea Graecis munditiis erudita barbarum socerum ferre non possit, quamvis ipse adulescens et pulcher et scholasticus et ad Graecas mun-
4 ditias eruditus esse videatur. haec quidem cogito, sed te tamen consulo, utrum Maximinum, Maximini filium, generum velis an Messallam ex familia nobili, oratorem potentissimum eundemque doctissimum et, nisi fallor, in rebus bellicis, si adplicetur, fortem
5 futurum." haec Alexander de Maximino. de quo nos nihil amplius habemus dicere.[3]

6 Sane ne quid praetermissum esse videatur, etiam epistulam indidi patris Maximini, imperatoris iam facti, qui dicit idcirco se etiam filium suum appellasse

[1] *inter* om. in P. [2] *rem* P, Peter[1]; *patrem* Kellerbauer, Peter[2]. [3] So Peter; *quod dicere* P, def. by Petschenig.

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[1] Unknown.

[2] *i.e.* Severus Alexander. There is no mention elsewhere of a sister of his named Theoclia, and, like Junia Fadilla (xxvii. 6) she is probably apocryphal.

[3] This letter is obviously spurious, since the incorrect form

that is, one of his royal boots, in a grove which lies between Aquileia and Arcia,[1] because, forsooth, they agreed that it was a foot longer than the measure of any foot of man. Whence also is derived the vulgar expression, used for lanky and awkward fellows, of "Maximinus' boot". I have put this down lest any one who reads Cordus should believe that I have overlooked anything which pertained to my subject. But now let me return to the son.

XXIX. Aurelius Alexander[2] wished to give him his sister Theoclia in marriage and wrote to his mother Mamaea these words concerning the youth: "Mother, were there not an element of the barbarian in the character of the elder Maximinus—he who is our general, and a very good one, too—I had already married your Theoclia to Maximinus[3] the younger. But I am afraid that such a product of Greek culture as my sister could not endure a barbarian father-in-law, however much the young man himself seems handsome and learned and polished in Greek elegance. This is what I think; but nevertheless I ask your advice. Tell me, do you wish Maximinus, the son of Maximinus, for a son-in-law, or Messalla, who is a scion of a noble house, a very powerful speaker, very learned, and, if I mistake not, a man who would prove himself gallant on the field if occasion should arise?" Thus Alexander on Maximinus. As for us, we have nothing further to say of him.

And yet—lest we seem to have omitted anything at all—I have set down a letter written by his father Maximinus, when he had now become emperor, in

of the young man's name is given here, as elsewhere in the *Historia Augusta;* see note to c. viii. 1.

imperatorem, ut videret, vel in pictura vel in veritate,
7 qualis esset iunior Maximinus in purpura. fuit autem talis epistula: "Ego cum propter adfectum, quem pater filio debet, Maximinum meum imperatorem appellari permisi, tum etiam, ut populus Romanus et senatus ille antiquus iuraret se numquam pulchriorem
8 imperatorem habuisse." usus autem est idem adulescens et aurea lorica exemplo Ptolemaeorum, usus est et argentea, usus et clipeo gemmato inaurato et
9 hasta inaurata. fecit et spathas argenteas, fecit etiam aureas et omnino quicquid eius pulchritudinem posset iuvare. fecit et galeas gemmatas, fecit et bucculas.
10 Haec sunt quae de puero sciri et dici decuit. reliqua qui volet nosse de rebus Veneriis et amatoriis, quibus eum Cordus aspergit, eundem legat; nos enim hoc loco finem libri faciemus, ad alia, ut iubetur velut publico iure, properantes.

XXX. Omina sane imperii haec fuerunt: serpens dormienti caput circumdedit. posita ab eodem vitis intra annum ingentes uvas purpureas attulit et mirae
2 magnitudinis facta est. scutum eius sub sole arsit. lanceola sic fissa est fulmine ut tota etiam per ferrum finderetur et duas partes faceret; quando dixerunt haruspices duos imperatores non diuturnos ex una domo

which he says that he had proclaimed his son emperor in order to see, either in painting or actuality, what the younger Maximinus would look like in the purple. The letter itself was of this nature: "I have let my Maximinus be called emperor, not only because of the fondness which a father owes a son, but also that the Roman people and that venerable senate may be able to take an oath that they have never had a more handsome emperor". After the fashion of the Ptolemies this youth wore a golden cuirass; he had also a silver one. He had a shield, moreover, inlaid with gold and jewels, and also a gold-inlaid spear. He had silver swords made for him, too, and gold ones as well, everything, in fact, which could enhance his beauty—helmets inset with precious stones and cheek-pieces done in the same fashion.

These are the facts which can be known and related of the boy with propriety. But whoever desires to know the rest, about the sexual and amorous affairs with which Cordus bespatters him, let him read Cordus; as for us, we make an end of our book here, and hasten on, as though bidden by a public duty, to other things.

XXX. The omens that he would be emperor were these: A snake coiled about his head as he was sleeping. A grape-vine which he planted produced within a year huge clusters of purple grapes, and grew to an astounding size. His shield blazed in the sun. A small lance of his was split by lightning and in such a manner that the whole of it, even through the iron, was cleft and fell into two halves. And from this the soothsayers declared that from the one house there would spring two emperors of the same name, whose reign would be of no long duration.

3 iisdem nominibus futuros. lorica patris eius non, ut solet, ferrugine sed tota purpureo colore infecta a 4 plurimis visa est. filio autem haec fuerunt: cum grammatico daretur, quaedam parens sua libros Home- 5 ricos omnes purpureos dedit aureis litteris scriptos. ipse puerulus cum ad cenam ab Alexandro esset rogatus in patris honorem, quod ei deesset vestis cenatoria, ipsius 6 Alexandri accepit. cum infans esset, subito per publicum veniente vehiculo Antonini Caracalli, quod vacuum erat, conscendit et sedit, et vix aegreque a 7 mulionibus carrucariis deturbatus est. nec defuerunt qui cavendum infantem dicerent Caracallo. tum ille dixit, "Longe est, ut mihi iste succedat." erat enim illo tempore inter ignobiles et nimis parvus.

XXXI. Mortis omina haec fuerunt: venienti contra Maximum et Balbinum Maximino cum filio, mulier quaedam passis crinibus occurrit lugubri habitu et exclamavit "Maximini, Maximini, Maximini," neque quicquam amplius dixit et mortua est. videbatur enim 2 dicere voluisse "Succurrite." canes circa tentorium eius in secunda mansione ultra duodecim ululârunt et animam quasi flendo posuerunt ac prima luce mortui 3 sunt deprehensi. lupi[1] quingenti simul ingressi sunt in eam urbem in quam[2] se Maximinus contulerat; plerique dicunt Emonam, alii Archimeam, certe quae 4 deserta a civibus venienti Maximino patuit. longum est omnia persequi, quae qui scire desiderat, is velim,

[1] *lupi urbem* P; *urbem* del. by Peter. [2] *quam* Damsté; *qua* P, Peter.

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[1] See c. xxi. 1 and 5. [2] Unknown.

His father's cuirass—many saw it—was stained not with rust, as is usual, but all over with a purple colour. These omens, moreover, occurred for the son: When he was sent to a grammarian, a certain kinswoman of his gave him the works of Homer all written in letters of gold on purple. And while he was yet a little boy, he was asked to dinner by Alexander as a compliment to his father, and, being without a dinner-robe, he wore one of Alexander's. When still an infant, moreover, he mounted up into a carriage of Antoninus Caracalla's that unexpectedly came down the public way, seeing it empty, and sat down; and only with great ado was he routed out by the coachmen. Nor were there lacking then those who told Caracalla to beware of the child. But he said, "It is a far chance that this fellow will succeed me". For at that time he was of the undistinguished crowd and very young.

XXXI. The omens of his death were these: When Maximinus and his son were marching against Maximus and Balbinus they were met by a woman with dishevelled hair and woeful attire, who cried out, "Maximini, Maximini, Maximini," and said no more, and died. She wished to add, it seemed, "Help me!" And at their next halting-place hounds, more than twelve of them, howled about his tent, drawing their breath with a sort of sobbing, and at dawn were found dead. Five hundred wolves, likewise, came in a pack into that town whither Maximinus had betaken himself—Emona,[1] many say, others Archimea[2]; at any rate, it was one which was left abandoned by its inhabitants when Maximinus approached. It is a lengthy business to enumerate all these things; and if anyone desires to know them, let him, as I have

ut saepe dixi, legat Cordum, qui haec omnia usque ad fabellam scripsit.

5 Sepulchra eorum nulla exstant. in profluentem enim cadavera eorum missa sunt, et capita eorum in Campo Martio insultante populo exusta.

XXXII. Scribit Aelius Sabinus, quod praetermittendum non fuit, tantam pulchritudinem oris fuisse in filio, ut etiam caput eius mortui iam nigrum, iam sordens, iam maceratum, diffluente tabo, vel umbra pulchri oris [1] 2 videretur. denique cum ingens gaudium esset, quod caput Maximini videretur, prope par maeror erat, 3 quod et filii pariter portaretur. addidit Dexippus tantum odium fuisse Maximini, ut interfectis Gordianis viginti viros senatus creaverit, quos opponeret Maximino. in quibus fuerunt Balbinus et Maximus, 4 quos contra eum principes fecerunt. idem addidit in conspectu Maximini iam deserti a militibus et prae- 5 fectum praetorio ipsius et filium eius occisum. nec desunt historici qui dicant ipsum Maximinum, ubi desertus est et ubi filium interemptum ante oculos suos vidit, manu sua se interfecisse, ne quid ei muliebre contingeret.

XXXIII. Praetereundum ne illud quidem est quod tanta fide Aquileienses contra Maximinum pro senatu fuerunt, ut funes de capillis muliebribus facerent, cum 2 deessent nervi ad sagittas emittendas. quod aliquando

[1] *umbra pulchri oris* Haupt, Peter[2]; *umbrae pulchrioris* P, Peter[1].

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[1] Otherwise unknown.
[2] See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 8.

often said, read Cordus, who has related them all, to the point of telling idle tales.

They have no tombs. For their corpses were cast into running water and their heads, while the mob capered, were burned in the Campus Martius.

XXXII. Aelius Sabinus[1] has written, and we must not omit it, that such was the beauty of the son's face that even in death his head, now black, and dirty, shrunken, and running with putrid gore, seemed still the shadow, as it were, of a beautiful face. And indeed, though there was great joy at seeing the head of Maximinus, there was almost equal grief when the son's head was carried with it. Dexippus[2] says that Maximinus was hated so thoroughly that when the Gordians perished the senate elected twenty men to oppose him.[3] Among these were Maximus and Balbinus, and these two they made emperors against him. This same Dexippus says also that Maximinus' prefect of the guard and his son were slain before his eyes, after his soldiers had deserted him. And there are not lacking historians who say that Maximinus also, after he had been deserted and had seen his son slain before his eyes, killed himself with his own hand,[4] that nothing womanish might attach to him.

XXXIII. Nor can we fail to mention the extraordinary loyalty displayed by the Aquileians in defending the senate against Maximinus. For, lacking bow-strings with which to shoot their arrows, they made cords of the women's hair.[5] It is said that this once happened at Rome as well, whence it was that

[3] See note to c. xx. 1.
[4] See c. xxiii. 6 and note.
[5] See note to c. xxii. 5.

Romae dicitur factum, unde in honorem matronarum templum Veneri Calvae senatus dicavit.

Sane quod nullo in loco tacendum est, cum et Dexippus et Arrianus et multi alii Graeci scripserunt Maximum et Balbinum imperatores contra Maximinum factos, Maximum autem cum exercitu missum et apud Ravennam bellum parasse, Aquileiam autem nisi victorem non vidisse : Latini scriptores non Maximum sed Pupienum contra Maximinum apud Aquileiam
3 pugnasse dixerunt eundemque vicisse. qui error unde natus sit, scire non possum, nisi forte idem est Pupie-
4 nus qui Maximus. quod ideo testatum posui, ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet, quod re vera magnum stuporem ac miraculum crearet.[1]

[1] *crearet* Peter[2]; *creat* P; *quod . . . creat* del. by Eyssenhardt and Peter[1].

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[1] *i.e.* the Bald. Her temple at Rome is mentioned by Lactantius, *Inst.*, i. 20, 27. Various legends accounting for her name are recorded by Servius, note to Vergil, *Aen.*, i. 720. One of these agrees with the incident alluded to in the present passage, assigning it to the siege of the Capitoline Hill by the Gauls in 382 B.C. In reality the name seems to be due to the existence of a bald female statue, regarded as Venus ; see Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyl.*, iii. 1408.

the senate, in honour of the matrons, dedicated the temple of Venus Calva.[1]

We can by no means be silent about the following point. For although Dexippus, Arrianus,[2] and many other Greek writers have said that Maximus and Balbinus were set up as emperors against Maximinus, and that Maximus, being sent out with the army, prepared for war at Ravenna, and did not see Aquileia until after he was victorious,[3] Latin writers have said that it was not Maximus but Pupienus who fought Maximinus at Aquileia and beat him. Whence this error arose I cannot say, unless it be that Maximus and Pupienus were one and the same.[4] At any rate, I have set this statement down with its authorities, in order that no one may believe that I did not know it—which indeed would cause great wonder and amazement!

[2] *i.e.* Herodian; see note to c. i. 4.

[3] See note to c. xxiv. 8.

[4] In *Max.-Balb.* the author seems sometimes to be aware that the two names refer to the same person (on his name see note to c. xx. 1), and sometimes to doubt the identification, especially in *Max.-Balb.*, i. 2; xv. 4-5; xvi. 7; xviii. where the question is fully discussed. In Victor (*Caes.*, xxvi.—xxvii.) and Eutropius (ix. 2), and presumably in their source (probably the *Latini scriptores*) he is always called Pupienus.

GORDIANI TRES

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Fuerat quidem consilium, venerabilis Auguste, ut singulos quosque imperatores exemplo multorum
2 libris singulis ad tuam Clementiam destinarem. nam id multos fecisse vel ipse videram vel lectione con-
3 ceperam. sed improbum visum est vel Pietatem tuam multitudine distinere librorum vel meum laborem
4 plurimis voluminibus occupare. quare tres Gordianos hoc libro conexui, consulens et meo labori et lectioni tuae, ne cogereris plurimos codices volvendo unam
5 tamen paene historiam lectitare. sed ne ego, qui longitudinem librorum fugi multitudinemque verborum, in eam incurrisse videar, quam me urbane declinare confingo, iam rem adgrediar.

II. Gordiani non, ut quidam imperiti scriptores loquuntur, duo sed tres fuerunt, idque docente Arriano, scriptore Graecae historiae, docente item Dexippo,

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[1] *i.e.* Gordian I, the proconsul of Africa, acclaimed emperor in 238, Gordian II, his son (see note to c. iv. 2), and Gordian III, his grandson, emperor 238-244, all of whom are treated in this biography. On the other hand, Victor (*Caes.*, xxvii) and Eutropius (ix. 2), and presumably also their common source, knew of only two Gordians, combining the second and the third into one person.

THE THREE GORDIANS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. It had been my plan, revered Augustus, following the example of many writers, to present each separate emperor to Your Clemency, each in a separate book. For I have either seen for myself that many writers have done this, or I have so understood from my reading. It did not seem proper, however, either to perplex Your Piety with a multitude of books or to expend my own labour on many volumes. For this reason in this book I have bound the three Gordians together, having a care both for my own labour and for your reading, lest you be compelled to unroll many volumes and yet read scarcely one story. But let not me, who have always fled long books and many words, seem to run into the very thing I pretend cleverly to avoid; and so to my subject!

II. There were not, as certain uninformed writers maintain, two Gordians, but three.[1] These writers might have learned this from Arrianus,[2] the writer of Greek history, and likewise from Dexippus,[3] the

[2] *i.e.* Herodian; see note to *Maxim.*, i. 4.
[3] See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.

Graeco auctore, potuerunt addiscere, qui, etiamsi
2 breviter, ad fidem tamen omnia persecuti sunt. horum
Gordianus senior, id est primus, natus est patre
Maecio Marullo, matre Ulpia Gordiana, originem
paternam ex Gracchorum[1] genere habuit, maternam
ex Traiani imperatoris, patre, avo, proavo consulibus,
socero, prosocero et item alio prosocero et duobus
3 absoceris consulibus. ipse consul ditissimus ac po-
tentissimus, Romae Pompeianam domum possidens,
in provinciis tantum terrarum habens quantum nemo
4 privatus. post[2] consulatum, quem egerat cum Alex-
andro, ad proconsulatum Africae missus est ex senatus
consulto.

III. Sed priusquam de imperio eius loquar, dicam
2 pauca de moribus. adulescens cum esset Gordianus,
de quo sermo est, poemata scripsit, quae omnia exstant,
et quidem cuncta illa quae Cicero, id est[3] Marium et
Aratum et Alcyonas et Uxorium et Nilum. quae
quidem ad hoc scripsit ut Ciceronis poemata nimis
3 antiqua viderentur. scripsit praeterea, quemadmodum

[1] *graecorum* P. [2] *post consulatum* Peter[2]; *ipsos consulatum* P. [3] *id est* Peter; *et de* P.

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[1] Called in his inscriptions M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 493. The last two cognomina were probably conferred on him on his accession to power (see c. ix. 3-4), that of Sempronianus is perhaps responsible for the claim that he was descended from the Gracchi. Nothing of his ancestry is known except what is related here.

[2] The famous house built by Pompey on the Carinae, *i.e.* the western slope of the Esquiline Hill; see Suetonius, *Tiberius*, xv. After Pompey's death it became the property of Marcus Antonius, and, later, of the Emperor Tiberius. It

Greek writer, both of whom have investigated the whole question, briefly perhaps, but still conscientiously. Of the three, Gordian the elder,[1] that is the first, was the son of Maecius Marullus and Ulpia Gordiana. On his father's side he traced his descent from the house of the Gracchi, on his mother's from the Emperor Trajan. His own father, his grandfather, and his great-grandfather, his wife's father and grandfather, and likewise another of his wife's grandfathers and two of her great-great-grandfathers, were consuls. He himself as consul was most rich and powerful; at Rome he owned the House of Pompey,[2] and in the provinces more land than any other subject. After his consulship, which he served with Alexander,[3] he was sent out as proconsul to Africa by decree of the senate.

III. But before I tell of his rule, I shall speak a little of his character. When the Gordian of whom we are speaking was a young man, he wrote poetry, all of which has been preserved.[4] As a matter of fact, all the subjects were those which Cicero also treated, that is, *Marius*, *Aratus*, *Alcyonae*, *Uxorius* and *Nilus*.[5] And he wrote these in order that Cicero's poems might seem out of date. Besides these, just as

was ornamented with the beaks of ships, presumably trophies of Pompey's war against the pirates, and hence it is called in c. iii. 6 *domus rostrata;* see c. iii. 6 and Cicero, *Philippicae*, ii. 28, 68.

[3] See c. iv. 1 and note.

[4] His poetry is unknown except for this reference.

[5] Cicero's Epic on Marius is quoted by himself in *de Legibus*, i. 2 and *de Divinatione*, i. 106. By *Aratus* is meant his translation of Aratus' famous poem, the *Φαινόμενα*. A fragment from the *Alcyonae* is preserved in Nonius Marcellus *s.v. Praevius*. The others are unknown.

Vergilius Aeneidos et Statius Achilleidos et multi alii Alexandriados,[1] ita etiam ille Antoniniados, hoc est Antoninum Pium et Antoninum Marcum versibus disertissimis libris triginta vitam illorum et bella et
4 publice privatimque gesta perscribens. et haec quidem puerulus. postea vero ubi adolevit, in Athenaeo controversias declamavit, audientibus etiam imperatoribus suis.

5 Quaesturam magnificentissimam gessit. aedilitatis suae tempore duodecim populo Romano munera, id est per singulos menses singula de suo exhibuit, ita ut gladiatorum nonnumquam quingena paria exhiberet,
6 numquam minus centenis quinquagenis. feras Libycas una die centum exhibuit, ursos una die mille. exstat silva eius memorabilis, quae picta est in domo rostrata Cn. Pompei, quae ipsius et patris eius et proavi fuit,
7 quam Philippi temporibus vester fiscus invasit. in qua pictura etiam nunc continentur cervi palmati ducenti mixtis Britannis, equi feri triginta, oves ferae centum, alces decem, tauri Cypriaci centum, struthiones Mauri miniati trecenti, onagri triginta, apri centum quin-
8 quaginta, ibices ducenti, dammae ducenti. haec autem omnia populo rapienda concessit die muneris, quod sextum edebat.

IV. Praeturam nobilem gessit. post iuris dictionem consulatum primum iniit cum Antonino Cara-

[1] *Alexandriados* Unger, Peter[2]; *elidos* P[1]; *ylidos* P corr. *Iliados* Jordan.

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[1] See also c. iv. 7.
[2] See note to *Pert.*, xi. 3.
[3] *i.e.* lions; see Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 209; v. 178.
[4] See note to c. ii. 3.

Vergil wrote an *Aeneid,* Statius an *Achilleid,* and many others *Alexandriads,* he wrote an *Antoniniad*—the lives, that is, of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Antoninus, most learnedly versified in thirty books, wherein he recounted their wars and other doings both public and private.[1] And all this he did as a young boy. Later on, when he grew to manhood, he declaimed and disputed at the Athenaeum,[2] at times in the presence of his emperors.

He served his quaestorship most splendidly. When he was aedile he gave the Roman people twelve exhibitions, that is one for each month, at his own expense; at times, indeed, he provided five hundred pairs of gladiators, and never less than a hundred and fifty. He produced a hundred wild beasts of Libya[3] at once, and likewise at one time a thousand bears. There exists also today a remarkable wild-beast hunt of his, pictured in Gnaeus Pompey's "House of the Beaks"[4]; this palace belonged to him and to his father and grandfather before him until your privy-purse took it over in the time of Philip.[5] In this picture at the present day are contained two hundred stags with antlers shaped like the palm of a hand, together with stags of Britain, thirty wild horses, a hundred wild sheep, ten elks, a hundred Cyprian bulls, three hundred red Moorish ostriches, thirty wild asses, a hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred chamois, and two hundred fallow deer. And all these he handed over to the people to be killed on the day of the sixth exhibition that he gave.

IV. He served a famous praetorship. Then, after administering the law, he entered upon his first

[5] *i.e.* Philippus (Arabs), emperor 244-249.

callo, secundum cum Alexandro. filios duos habuit,
illum consularem qui cum ipso Augustus appellatus
est, qui iuxta Carthaginem in Africa bello absumptus
est, et filiam Maeciam Faustinam, quae nupta est
3 Iunio Balbo, consulari viro. in consulatibus clarior fuit
sui temporis consulibus, ita ut ei Antoninus invideret,
modo praetextas eius, modo latum clavum,[1] modo
4 circenses ultra imperatorium mirans modum. palma-
tam tunicam et togam pictam primus Romanorum
privatus suam propriam habuit, cum ante imperatores
etiam vel de Capitolio acciperent vel de Palatio.
5 equos Siculos centum, Cappadoces centum permit-
tentibus imperatoribus factionibus divisit. et per haec
populo satis carus, qui semper talibus commovetur.
6 Cordus dicit in omnibus civitatibus Campaniae, Etru-
riae, Umbriae, Flaminiae, Piceni de proprio illum per
quadriduum ludos scaenicos et iuvenalia edidisse.
7 scripsit et laudes soluta oratione omnium Antoninorum

[1] *clauum* om. in P.

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[1] According to his coins, he was consul only once; see Cohen, v², p. 2, nos. 2-3. If he held that office in the same year as Caracalla, it was in 213. The statement that he was consul with Alexander (also in c. ii. 4) is accordingly incorrect. It may be the result of confusion with his son, who held the consulship during Alexander's reign; see c. xviii. 5.

[2] He had the same name as his father, M. Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus Romanus Africanus; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 493. Though he had held the consulship, he was serving as his father's *legatus* in Africa, and with his father was acclaimed Augustus in the province and later by the senate in Rome; see c. ix. 6; *Maxim.*, xiv. 3-5. A "biography" of him is given in c. xvii.-xxi.

[3] See c. xv.-xvi.

[4] The mother of Gordian III; see c. xxii. 4. Neither her name nor her husband's is found elsewhere.

consulship with Antoninus Caracalla, his second with Alexander.[1] He had two children, one the son who attained consular rank and was named Augustus with himself[2] and perished in the war in Africa near Carthage,[3] the other a daughter, Maecia Faustina by name,[4] who was married to Junius Balbus, a man of consular rank. His consulships were more brilliant than those of any other man of his time; even Antoninus envied him, admiring now his togas, now his broad stripe,[5] and now his games, which surpassed the imperial games themselves. He was the first Roman subject to possess for his own a tunic embroidered with palms[6] and a gold-embroidered toga; for previously even the emperors had gotten theirs either from the Capitol or the Palace.[7] With the emperors' permission he distributed a hundred Sicilian and a hundred Cappadocian horses among the factions.[8] And he endeared himself greatly to the people, who are always touched by acts of this nature. Cordus[9] says that he gave stage-plays and Juvenalia[10] in all the cities of Campania, Etruria, Umbria, Flaminia, and Picenum, for four days at his own expense. He wrote prose eulogies also of all the

[5] See note to *Com.*, iv. 7.

[6] Worn in the period of the republic by triumphant generals under the *toga picta* (on which see note to *Cl. Alb.*, ii. 5).

[7] *i.e.* when made consul; see *Alex.*, xl. 8. The triumphal vestments were kept in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitolium and brought out when needed.

[8] On the circus-factions see note to *Ver.*, iv. 8.

[9] See Intro. to Vol. i., p. xviii.

[10] Scenic games, first given by Nero to commemorate the shaving his beard for the first time; see Dio, lxi. 19; Tacitus *Annals*, xiv. 15. Juvenalia, including a wild-beast hunt, were also given by Domitian; see Dio, lxvii. 14. 3.

qui ante eum fuerunt. tantum autem Antoninos dilexit ut sibi quoque, ut multi dicunt, Antonini, ut plerique autem adserunt, Antonii nomen adscripserit. 8 iam illud satis constat quod filium, Gordianum nomine, Antonini signo inlustraverit, cum apud praefectum aerarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis eius nomen insereret.

V. Post consulatum proconsul Africae factus est adnitentibus cunctis, qui Alexandri imperium etiam in Africa clarum per proconsulis dignitatem haberi 2 atque esse voluerunt. exstat epistula ipsius Alexandri, qua senatui gratias agit, quod Gordianum ad Africam 3 proconsulem destinaverit. cuius hoc exemplum est: "Neque gratius mihi quicquam, patres conscripti, neque dulcius potuistis efficere, quam ut Antoninum Gordianum proconsulem ad Africam mitteretis, virum nobilem, magnanimum, disertum, iustum, continen- 4 tem, bonum" et reliqua. ex quo adparet quantus vir 5 eo tempore Gordianus fuerit. amatus est ab Afris ita ut nemo antea proconsulum, ita ut eum alii Scipionem, Catonem alii, multi Mucium ac Rutilium aut Laelium 6 dicerent. exstat eorum adclamatio, quae a Iunio in

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[1] See c. iii. 3.

[2] The statement is frequently made and again frequently contradicted that the Gordians bore the name Antoninus; see c. ix. 5; xvii. 1-2; *Macr.*, iii. 5; *Heliog.*, xviii. 1; xxxiv. 6-7. It is, of course, wholly incorrect, for none of them ever had this name. The origin of the error is perhaps the easy confusion between Antonius and Antoninus, or, again, the tendency to bestow the name Antoninus on all emperors.

[3] See *Marc.*, ix. 7.

[4] Under Alexander; see *Maxim.*, xiv. 2.

[5] The presence of the name Antoninus as given to Gordian is sufficient proof that this letter is a forgery.

Antonines who had preceded him. He admired the Antonines marvellously [1]; many say that he himself assumed the name Antoninus or, as more declare, Antonius.[2] And certainly there is no doubt that he embellished his son with the name Antoninus, when, after the Roman custom, he acknowledged him before the prefect of the Treasury and entered his name in the public records.[3]

V. After his consulship he was appointed proconsul of Africa[4] through the efforts of all those who desired Alexander's reign to seem and to be brilliant in Africa through the splendour of its proconsul. Indeed there still exists a letter of Alexander's in which he thanks the senate for electing Gordian proconsul for Africa. It runs in this style: "You could have done nothing more pleasing or agreeable to me, Conscript Fathers, than to send Antoninus[5] Gordian as proconsul to Africa, for he is well-born, high-minded, eloquent, just, moderate, virtuous," and so on. It is clear from this how great a man Gordian was even at that time. He was beloved by the Africans as no other proconsul ever had been before; some called him Scipio, others, Cato, and many, Mucius,[6] Rutilius,[7] and Laelius.[8] An acclamation of theirs which Junius[9] noted down has been preserved. For when on one occasion he was

[6] Q. Mucius Scaevola, consul 95 B.C. He distinguished himself by his administration of Asia in 98, and his name became proverbial as that of a righteous governor. He was also a famous jurist and the teacher of Cicero.

[7] P. Rutilius Rufus, consul 105 B.C., a friend of Scaevola and his legate in Asia.

[8] C. Laelius Sapiens, consul 140 B.C., the famous friend of Scipio Africanus the younger.

[9] *i.e.* Cordus.

7 litteras[1] relata est. nam cum quadam die factum imperatorium legeret atque a proconsulibus Scipionibus coepisset, adclamatum est, "Novo Scipioni, vero Scipioni, Gordiano proconsuli." haec et alia frequenter audivit.

VI. Et erat quidem longitudine Romana, canitie decora et pompali vultu, ruber magis quam candidus, facie bene lata, oculis, ore, fronte verendus. corporis 2 qualitate subcrassulus. moribus ita moderatus ut nihil possis dicere, quod ille aut cupide aut inmodeste 3 aut nimie fecerit. adfectus suos unice dilexit, filium et nepotem ultra morem, filiam et neptem religiose. 4 socero suo Annio Severo tantum detulit, ut in familiam[2] eius quasi filium migrasse se crederet, numquam cum eo laverit, numquam illo praesente sederit ante 5 praeturam. consul cum esset, aut in domo eius semper mansit aut, si in Pompeiana domo, ad illum vel mane 6 vel sero processit. vini parcus, cibi parcissimus, vestitu nitidus, lavandi cupidus, ita ut et quarto et quinto in 7 die lavaret aestate, hieme secundo. somni plurimi, ita ut in tricliniis, si forte apud amicos ederet, etiam sine pudore dormiret. quod videbatur facere per naturam, non per ebrietatem atque luxuriem.

VII. Sed boni mores nihil ei profuerunt. hac enim vita venerabilis, cum Platone semper, cum Aristotele,

[1] *litteras* Jordan, Lessing; *litteris* P, Peter. [2] *familiam* Damsté; *familia* P, Peter.

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[1] He had been consul, according to c. ii. 2, but is otherwise unknown.

reading an imperial act and began with the mention of the proconsuls Scipio, the people shouted, "The new Scipio, the true Scipio, the proconsul Gordian". He was often greeted with these and similar acclamations.

VI. In height he was characteristically Roman. He was becomingly gray, with an impressive face, more ruddy than fair. His face was fairly broad, his eyes, his countenance, and his brow such as to command respect. His body was somewhat stocky. In character he was temperate and restrained; there is nothing you can say that he ever did passionately, immoderately, or excessively. His affection for his kin was remarkable, for his son and grandson beyond the ordinary, for his daughter and granddaughter most devoted. He was as deferential to his father-in-law Annius Severus[1] as though he considered that he had passed over into his family as a son; he never washed himself in his company, he never sat in his presence until he became praetor. And when he was consul either he always remained at the old man's house, or, if he stayed at the House of Pompey, he went either at morning or evening to see him. He was sparing in the use of wine, very sparing in the use of food. His dress was elegant. He was fond of bathing; indeed, during the summer, he would bathe four or five times a day, in the winter twice. His love of sleep was enormous; he would doze off even at table, if he were dining with friends, and without any embarrassment. This he seemed to do at nature's bidding and not because of intoxication or wantonness.

VII. But all his virtuous behaviour profited him nothing. For this old man, worthy of respect as such a life had made him, who passed his days with Plato

cum Tullio, cum Vergilio ceterisque veteribus agens alium quam merebatur exitum passus est.

2 Nam cum temporibus Maximini, hominis saevi atque truculenti, pro consule Africam regeret, filio[1] iam ex consulibus sibimet legato a senatu dato, cumque quidam rationalis acrius contra plurimos Afrorum saeviret quam Maximinus ipse pateretur, proscribens plurimos, interficiens multos et sibi ultra procuratorem omnia vindicans, retunsus deinde a proconsule atque legato nobilibus et consularibus viris ipsis minaretur excidium, Afri tam insolentes iniurias ferre nequiverunt et primum ipsum rationalem adiunctis sibi 3 plerisque militibus occiderunt. occiso deinde eo, cum iam orbis terrarum odio contra Maximinum arderet, coeperunt cogitare quemadmodum seditio inter Maximinianos et rusticos vel Afros orta placare- 4 tur. tunc quidam Mauritius nomine, potens apud Afros decurio, iuxta Thysdrum nobilissima posthac oratione apud plebem vel urbanam vel rusticanam in VIII. agro suo velut contionabundus est locutus: "Gratias dis inmortalibus, cives, quod occasionem dederunt, et quidem necessariam, providendi nobis contra hominem 2 furiosissimum Maximinum. nos enim, qui procuratorem eius moribus et vitae consimilem occidimus,

[1] *filio* ins. by Salm. and Peter; om. in P.

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[1] For parallel accounts of the bestowal of the imperial power on Gordian see *Maxim.*, xiii. 5—xv. 5 and Herodian, vii. 4-7. It took place in February or March, 238.

[2] On *rationalis* see *Alex.*, xlv. 6.

[3] Neither his name nor his speech is included in Herodian's narrative.

[4] *i.e.* member of the *curia*, or local senate of a provincial town having the rights of a colony or a municipality.

and Aristotle, Cicero and Vergil, finally suffered an end other than that he deserved.

For, in the time of Maximinus, a grim and savage man, he was ruling Africa as proconsul,[1] and his son was with him as his legate, having been so appointed by the senate from among the consuls. Now there was a certain agent of the privy-purse,[2] who ran riot against a great number of Africans even more violently than Maximinus himself allowed. He outlawed a great many, he put many to death, he assumed all powers in excess even of a tax-gatherer's; and when he was finally restrained by the proconsul and legate he threatened those noble consular men with death. The Africans at length were unable to suffer these unwonted injuries any longer, and so, with the aid of a number of soldiers, they first killed him. Then, after he was killed and while the whole world was blazing with hatred of Maximinus, his slayers began to take counsel how this conflict which had arisen between the agents of Maximinus and the peasants, or rather the Africans, might go unpunished. Then a certain fellow, Mauritius[3] by name, a municipal councillor,[4] who had great influence with the Africans, held a sort of assembly on his farm near Thysdrus[5] and made a most notable oration to the people of the town and the country, saying: VIII. "Let us give thanks to the immortal gods, citizens, that they have given us a chance, and truly a needed one, of protecting ourselves against that madman Maximinus. We have slain a tax-gatherer of his, one patterned after himself in character and conduct, and unless we make an emperor of our own we are lost. Wherefore, since

[1] See note to *Maxim.*, xiv. 3.

3 nisi facto imperatore salvi esse non possumus. quocirca, si placet, quoniam non longe est nobilissimus vir pro consule cum filio, consulari legato, quorum utrique mortem pestis illa est minata, sublata de vexillis purpura imperatores eos dicemus adhibitisque
4 insignibus Romano iure firmabimus." tunc adclamatum est, "Aequum est, iustum est. Gordiane Auguste, di te servent. feliciter imperes, cum filio imperes."

5 His actis propere ventum est ad oppidum Thysdrum, inventusque senex venerabilis post iuris dictionem iacens in lectulo, qui circumfusus purpura
6 humi se abiecit ac retrectans elevatus est. et cum aliud facere nihil posset, evitandi periculi gratia, quod a Maximinianis dubie, a fautoribus necessario [1] imminebat, imperatorem se appellari senex passus est.

IX. erat autem iam octogenarius et plurimis provinciis, ut diximus, ante praefuerat; populo Romano ita commendatus suis actibus erat ut toto dignus videretur
2 imperio. de rationali quidem occiso Gordianus [2] ante nescierat. sed ubi rem comperit, iam mortis vicinus et filio magis timens, maluit honestas causas habere moriendi quam dedi vinculis et carceri Maximini.

3 Appellato igitur Gordiano imperatore iuvenes, qui auctores huius facinoris erant, statuas Maximini deiecerunt, imagines perfregerunt, nomen publicitus

[1] So Peter[2], following Herodian, vii. 5, 5; *quod Maximinianis necessario fautoribus dubie* P. [2] So Baehrens; *alii quidem occiso . . . Gordianus* P, Peter.

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[1] So also Herodian, vii. 5, 2; he was 79 according to Zonaras, xii. 17.

[2] See c. v. 1.

not far off there is a man of noble blood, a proconsul, and with him his son, a consular legate, both of whom that pest has threatened with death, we shall hail them emperors, if it please you, taking the purple from the standards, and giving them their proper trappings make them secure by Roman law." Whereupon they shouted, "It is good, it is right. Gordian Augustus, may the gods keep you safe! Rule happily, rule with your son."

Upon this, they came hastily to the town of Thysdrus, and there they found the venerable old man returned from the law-courts and lying on a couch. They girt him straightway with the purple, but he would have none of it and cast himself on the ground; and they lifted him up still refusing. But when he saw that he could do nothing else, for the sake of escaping from a danger which threatened him for certain at the hands of his supporters and only doubtfully from the Maximinians, the old man suffered himself to be acclaimed emperor. IX. He was then eighty years of age,[1] and, as we have said,[2] had ruled many provinces before; and he had so commended himself to the Roman people by his conduct in these that they thought him worthy of ruling the whole empire. With regard to the killing of the agent, Gordian had had no previous knowledge. But when he learned of the act, being now near to death and fearing greatly for his son, he preferred to die honourably rather than be handed over to the chains and prison-cell of Maximinus.

However, having now acclaimed Gordian emperor, the young men who were the authors of the deed proceeded to cast down the statues of Maximinus, break his busts, and publicly erase his name.

eraserunt. ipsum etiam Gordianum Africanum
4 appellaverunt. addunt quidam Africani cognomentum Gordiano idcirco inditum, non quod in Africa imperare coepisset, sed quod de Scipionum familia
5 originem traheret. in plurimis autem libris invenio et hunc Gordianum et filium eius pariter imperatores appellatos et Antoninos cognominatos, in aliis[1] vero Antonios.

6 Post hoc Carthaginem ventum cum pompa regali et fascibus laureatis, filiusque legatus patris, exemplo Scipionum, ut Dexippus Graecae historiae scriptor[2]
7 auctor est, pari[3] potestate succinctus est. missa deinceps legatio Romam est cum litteris Gordianorum haec, quae gesta fuerant in Africa, indicans, quae per Valerianum, principem senatus, qui postea imperavit,
8 gratanter accepta est. missae sunt et ad amicos nobiles litterae, ut homines potentes et rem probarent et amiciores fierent ex amicis.

X. Sed tanta gratulatione factos contra Maximinum imperatores senatus accepit, ut non solum gesta haec probarent sed etiam viginti viros eligerent, inter quos erat Maximus sive Pupienus et Clodius Balbinus. qui ambo imperatores sunt creati, posteaquam
2 Gordiani duo in Africa interempti sunt. illos sane

[1] *in aliis* Peter; *alii* P. [2] *scriptor* ins. by Eyssenhardt and Peter; om. in P. [3] *pari* Peter; erased in P; *erarii* P corr.; *rari* B.

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[1] See note to c. ii. 2.

[2] This explanation is, of course, wholly incorrect. According to c. ii. 2 he claimed descent from the Gracchi.

[3] See note to c. iv. 7.

[4] An allusion to the fact that Scipio Africanus the elder was

They also gave Gordian the name Africanus.[1] Some add that he was granted this honorary name, not because he became emperor in Africa, but because he was descended from the family of the Scipios.[2] In most books, moreover, I find that Gordian and his son were declared emperors with equal rank and both given the name Antoninus; certain other books, however, say that they were given the name Antonius.[3]

After this, with kingly pomp and laurelled fasces, they came to Carthage, and there his son—who, after the example of the Scipios,[4] as Dexippus the writer of Greek history says, was his father's legate—was invested with equal power. Upon this an embassy was despatched to Rome, bearing letters from the Gordians to announce all that had taken place in Africa, which was received by Valerian, the chief of the senate (who was afterwards emperor[5]), with rejoicing. Letters were sent also to their noble friends, in order that powerful men might support their action and from friends might become still greater friends.

X. But the senate received them so joyfully as emperors against Maximinus that not only did it ratify all that had been already done but further elected twenty men[6]—including Maximus, known also as Pupienus,[7] and Clodius Balbinus,[8] both of whom were made emperors after the two Gordians were slain in

the legate of his brother L. Scipio Asiaticus (Asiagenus) in the campaign against Antiochus III. in 190 B.C.

[5] 253-260. According to Zosimus, i. 14, he was sent to Rome from Africa as the envoy of the Gordians. He is not mentioned by Herodian.

[6] See *Maxim.*, xx. 1 and note.

[7] See note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

[8] Clodius is an error; see note to *Maxim.*, xx. 1.

viginti senatus ad hoc creaverat, ut divideret his Italicas regiones contra Maximinum pro Gordianis
3 tuendas. tunc legationes a Maximino Romam
4 venerunt abolitionem praeteritorum spondentes. sed vicit Gordianorum legatio, quae bona omnia pollicebatur, ita ut eidem crederetur et ingens militibus stipendium et populo agros atque congiaria promit-
5 tenti. usque adeo autem magis Gordianis quam Maximinis est creditum, ut Vitalianus quidam, qui praetorianis militibus praeerat, per audacissimos quaestorem et milites iussu senatus occideretur, quod se antea crudeliter egerat, et tunc eius magis inmanitas timebatur, amica et familiaris moribus
6 Maximini. de cuius morte haec fabella fertur. fictae sunt litterae Maximini, signatae quasi eiusdem anulo, et missi cum quaestore milites, qui eas ferrent, addentes quaedam praeter litteras secreto esse dicenda.
7 longam igitur porticum petiverunt, et cum ille ea quae sibi erant secreto dicenda perquireret, hortantibus ut prius signum inspiceret epistulae, dum con-
8 siderat, interemptus est. persuasum deinde est militibus iussu Maximini Vitalianum interemptum. peractisque rebus in Castris Gordianorum et litterae et vultus sunt propositi.

XI. Interest, ut senatus consultum, quo[1] Gordiani imperatores appellati sunt et Maximinus hostis, litteris

[1] *quo* om. in P.

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[1] See *Max.-Balb.*, i.—ii.

[2] There is no mention of this in *Maxim.*, xvii.—xviii. or in Herodian.

Africa[1]—among whom the districts of Italy were portioned out to be guarded for the Gordians against Maximinus. Embassies then came to Rome from Maximinus[2] promising to redress the past. But the embassy of the Gordians overcame them. For they promised all good things; they promised a huge bounty to the soldiers and fields and a largess to the people, and they were trusted. In fact, so much more trust was placed in the Gordians than in the Maximini, that Vitalianus, the prefect of the guard, was put to death at the senate's command, a quaestor and some soldiers performing the deed with great daring. This Vitalianus had conducted himself with great cruelty before; and now they feared some greater piece of savagery pleasing and agreeable to one of Maximinus' character. The following story is related about his death.[3] A forged letter, purporting to come from Maximinus and sealed as if with his ring, was brought to Vitalianus by soldiers in charge of a quaestor, who added that there was further information, not in the letter, to be imparted in secret. They retired, therefore, to a distant portico, where he inquired what it was that was to be told him secretly. But first they urged him to look at the seal on the letter, which he did. And while he was regarding it, they cut him down, and then persuaded the soldiers that he had been slain by command of Maximinus. And when this affair had been settled, the letters and images of the Gordians were displayed in the Camp.

XI. I think it my duty to set down in writing the decree of the senate in which the Gordians were

[3] So also Herodian, vii. 6, 5-9. His death is merely mentioned in *Maxim.*, xiv. 4.

propagetur. non legitimo sed indicto senatus die consul iam domi conventus cum praetoribus, aedilibus et tribunis plebis venit in Curiam. praefectus urbi, cui nescio quid redoluerat, et qui publicas litteras non acceperat, a conventu se abstinuit. sed profuit, nam consul ante solitas adclamationes, priusquam aliquid in Maximinum feliciter diceretur, ait: "Patres conscripti, Gordiani duo, pater et filius, ambo ex consulibus, unus vester pro consule, alter vester legatus, magno Afrorum consilio imperatores sunt appellati. gratias igitur agamus Thysdritanae iuventuti, gratias Carthaginiensi populo semper devoto; ab inmani nos belua, ab illa fera vindicaverunt. quid timide auditis? quid circumspicitis? quid cunctamini? hoc est quod semper optastis. hostis est Maximinus; di facient ut esse iam desinat, et Gordiani senis felicitatem atque prudentiam, iuvenis virtutem atque constantiam laeti experiamus." post haec litteras legit Gordianorum ad senatum et ad se missas. tunc adclamavit[1] senatus: "Di, vobis gratias. liberati ab hostibus sumus, sic[2] penitus liberemur. Maximinum hostem omnes iudicamus. Maximinum cum filio dis inferis devovemus. Gordianos Augustos appellamus. Gordianos principes agnoscimus. imperatores de

[1] *adclamauit* Peter; *clamauit* P. [2] *sic* Mommsen; *si* P, Peter.

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[1] A "senatus consultum"—consisting of a letter from the Gordians to the senate and the senate's acclamations—which purports to commemorate this same occasion is given in *Maxim.*, xvi. The two "documents" differ entirely and both are, undoubtedly, forgeries.

[2] His name was Junius Silanus according to *Maxim.*, xvi. 1.

declared emperors and Maximinus a public enemy.[1] On an extraordinary, not a regular, day for the meeting of the senate, the consul, having foregathered at his own home with the praetors, the aediles, and the tribunes of the people, came to the Senate-house. The prefect of the city, who had somehow got wind of something and had not received the official notice, kept away from the meeting. But as it turned out, that was as well, for before the usual acclamations were made or anything was said favourable to Maximinus, the consul[2] cried: "Conscript Fathers, the two Gordians, father and son, both ex-consuls, the one your proconsul, the other now your legate, have been declared emperors by a great assembly in Africa. Let us give thanks, then, to the young men of Thysdrus, and thanks also to the ever loyal people of Carthage; they have freed us from that savage monster, from that wild beast. Why do you hear me with quaking? Why do you look around? Why do you delay? This is what you have always hoped for. Maximinus is our enemy; the gods shall bring it to pass that he may now cease to be, and that we with joyful hearts may enjoy the happy sagacity of the elder Gordian, the intrepid virtue of the younger." After this he read the letters which the Gordians had sent to the senate and to himself. And then the senate cried aloud[3]: "We thank you, O gods. We are freed from our enemies; so may we be wholly freed! We adjudge Maximinus an enemy. We consign Maximinus and his son to the gods below. We call the Gordians Augusti. We recognize the Gordians as princes. May the gods keep safe the senate's

[3] For other acclamations see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

senatu di conservent, imperatores nobiles victores videamus, imperatores nostros Roma videat. hostes publicos qui occiderit, praemium meretur."

XII. Dicit Iunius Cordus tacitum senatus consultum fuisse. quod quale sit aut quare sic appel-
2 latum, brevi exponam: omnino exemplum senatus consulti taciti non aliud est hodie, quam quo vestra Clementia convocatis ad interiora maioribus ea disponit quae non sunt omnibus publicanda. de quibus adiurare etiam soletis, ne quis ante rem completam
3 quicquam vel audiat vel intellegat. hunc autem morem apud veteres necessitates publicae reppererunt, ut, si forte aliqua vis ab hostibus inmineret, quae cogeret vel humilia captare consilia vel aliqua constituere, quae non prius oporteret dici quam effici, vel si nollent ad amicos aliqua permanare, senatus consultum tacitum fieret, ita ut non scribae, non servi publici, non censuales illis actibus interessent, senatores exciperent, senatores omnium officia censualium scribarumque complerent, ne quid forte
4 proderetur. factum est ergo senatus consultum tacitum, ne res ad Maximinum perveniret.

XIII. Sed statim illa, ut se habent hominum mentes, eorum dumtaxat qui erubescunt per se ea non agnosci quae sciunt, et qui humiles se putant, si commissa non prodant, omnia comperit Maximinus, ita ut exemplum senatus consulti taciti acciperet,

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[1] It is hard to know how much of all this learned discussion about the *senatus consultum tacitum* is true. No other instance of such a secret document is known.

[2] The clerks attached to the bureau of the *magister censuum*, who was charged with the duty of assessing the property of the

emperors, may we see our noble emperors victorious, may Rome see our emperors! Whoever shall kill the public enemies shall get a reward."

XII. Junius Cordus says that this was a secret decree of the senate.[1] Just what this is, and why it is so called, I shall briefly explain. Today the equivalent of a secret decree of the senate is, in general, nothing more than the action of those inner councils of elders by which Your Clemency settles those affairs which are not to be published abroad. You are accustomed to take oath when discussing these matters, moreover, that no one shall hear or know anything of them until the business is completed. But among the ancients the custom was introduced in the interests of the state, that, if by any chance violence threatened at the hands of their enemies, which forced them either to adopt ignoble counsels or resolve on things which should not be disclosed until they were ready to be put into effect, or if they were unwilling for certain measures to be divulged to friends, the senate passed a secret decree. At these sessions not even the clerks or public servants or officers of the Census[2] were present; the senators took over and the senators performed the duties of all the clerks and officers of the Census, lest anything by any chance should be betrayed. To prevent news of it reaching Maximinus, therefore, this decree of the senate was made secret.

XIII. But as is the way with the minds of men—of such of them, at least, as blush if any knowledge of theirs does not become known and consider it abject not to betray a trust—Maximinus straightway learned everything. Indeed, he got a copy of the senate's secret

senators for the purpose of taxation. Certain minor police and clerical functions seem to have been added to their duties.

2 quod numquam antea fuerat factitatum. exstat denique eius epistula ad praefectum urbi talis: "Senatus consultum tacitum nostrorum illorum principum legi, quod tu, praefectus urbi, factum esse fortasse non nosti, nam nec interfuisti. cuius exemplum ad te misi, ut scires quomodo Romanam rem 3 publicam regeres." enarrari autem non potest, quae commotio fuerit Maximini, cum audivit contra se 4 Africam descivisse. nam senatus auctoritate percepta incurrere in parietes, vestem scindere, gladium arripere, quasi omnes posset occidere, prorsus furere videbatur.

5 Praefectus urbi acceptis litteris acrioribus populum et milites adlocutus est, dicens Maximinum iam 6 occisum. ex quo gaudium maius fuit, statimque deiectae sunt statuae atque imagines eius qui hostis 7 fuerat iudicatus. usus est sane senatus pendente bello potestate qua debuit. nam delatores, calumniatores, procuratores et omnem illam faecem[1] Maxi- 8 minianae tyrannidis occidi iussit. atque parum fuit quod senatus iudicaverat, illud populi iudicium fuit 9 quod occisi tracti sunt et in cloacam missi. tunc et praefectus urbi Sabinus, consularis vir, fuste iam percussus occisus et in publico derelictus est.

XIV. Haec ubi comperit Maximinus, statim cohortatus est milites hoc genere contionis: "Sacrati conmilitones, immo etiam mi consecranei et quorum

[1] *faecem* Eyssenhardt, Peter; *facem* P.

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[1] See *Maxim.*, xvii. 1-3 and note.

[2] According to the more credible account in Herodian, vii. 6, 9, this rumour was circulated by the assassins of Vitalianus.

[3] See *Maxim.*, xv. 1; Herodian, vii. 7, 3-4.

[4] For other versions of this speech see note to *Maxim.*, xviii. 1.

decree—a thing that had never previously occurred. There is a letter of his to the city-prefect which says: "I have read the senate's secret decree about those emperors of ours; perhaps you, being city-prefect, did not know it had been passed, for you were not present on that occasion. I have sent you a copy, however, hoping that you may learn how to rule the commonwealth of Rome." The fury that shook Maximinus when he learned that Africa had revolted from him is impossible to describe.[1] For when he finally comprehended the decree of the senate, he dashed himself against the walls, he rent his garments, he snatched his sword as though he could slay them in a body, he seemed, indeed, to go wholly mad.

The prefect of the city now got even more violent letters and made an address to the people and the soldiers, wherein he said that Maximinus had been slain.[2] Upon this great rejoicing arose and the statues and portraits of the public enemy were immediately cast down. The senate, moreover, employed the powers which belonged to it for impending war. Informers, false accusers, personal agents, in fact all the filth of the Maximinian despotism, it ordered to be put to death.[3] But this, the senate's decision, was not enough; the people decided that after they were put to death they should be dragged about and cast into the sewer. Then also Sabinus, the prefect of the city and a man of consular rank, was beaten with a club and slain; his corpse was left lying in the streets.

XIV. When Maximinus learned of these last measures he at once assembled his troops and harangued them in the following manner[4]: "Consecrated fellow-soldiers, or rather partakers of my consecration,

mecum plerique vere militatis, dum nos a Germania Romanam defendimus maiestatem, dum nos Illyricum a barbaris vindicamus, Afri fidem Punicam praesti-
2 terunt. nam duos nobis Gordianos, quorum alter senio ita fractus est ut non possit adsurgere, alter ita luxurie perditus ut debilitatem habeat pro senectute, impera-
3 tores fecerunt. et ne hoc parum esset, factum Afrorum nobilis ille senatus agnovit, et pro quorum liberis arma portamus, hi contra nos viginti viros statuerunt et omnes velut contra hostes sententias protulerunt.
4 quin immo agite, ut viros decet. properandum est ad urbem. nam et viginti viri consulares contra nos lecti sunt, quibus resistendum est nobis fortiter agenti-
5 bus, vobis feliciter dimicantibus." lentas militum mentes et non alacres animos hac contione et Maxi-
6 minus ipse cognovit. denique statim ad filium scripsit, qui longe post sequebatur, ut adceleraret, ne quid
7 contra eum se absente milites cogitarent. litterarum exemplum tale Iunius Cordus edidit: "Refert ad te stipator meus Tynchanius quae gesta cognovi vel in Africa vel Romae, refert quae sint militum mentes.
8 quaeso, quantum potes, properes, ne quid, ut solet, militaris turba plus faciat. quid verear ex eo audies quem ad te misi."

XV. Dum haec aguntur, in Africa contra duos Gordianos Capelianus quidam, Gordiano et in privata vita semper adversus et ab ipso imperatore iam cum Mauros Maximini iussu regeret veteranus dimissus, conlectis

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[1] See note to *Maxim.*, xviii. 1.

[2] The governor of Numidia. For parallel accounts of the defeat and overthrow of the Gordians see *Maxim.*, xix. and Herodian, vii. 9.

who have, most of you, fought with me wars that were wars indeed, when we defended the majesty of Rome from Germany, when we redeemed Illyricum from the barbarians, the Africans have kept Punic faith.[1] They have acclaimed the two Gordians emperors; one of whom is so broken with old age that he cannot rise, the other so wasted with debauchery that exhaustion serves him for old age. And lest this be not enough, that glorious senate of ours has approved what the Africans have done. They for whose children we bear arms have set up twenty men against us, and passed all such decrees against us as are passed against a foe. Up! then, as men should; we must hasten to the city. For against us twenty men, all of consular rank, have been chosen; they must be withstood, we bravely leading, you happily fighting." But that this harangue left his soldiers with indifferent feelings, and not with quickened spirits, even Maximinus himself realized. In fact, he at once wrote to his son, who was following at a distance behind, to hasten speedily, lest the soldiers devise some plot against him in his absence. Junius Cordus gives the purport of the letter thus: "My attendant Tynchanius is coming to tell you my last advices on what has taken place in Africa and Rome, and also how the soldiers feel. I beseech you, hasten as fast as you can, lest this mob of soldiers take further measures, as soldiers are wont to do. What I fear, you will learn from him whom I have sent you."

XV. But while all this was taking place, the Gordians were attacked in Africa by a certain Capelianus.[2] He had always been hostile to Gordian even in private life, and now the Emperor himself dismissed him when, as an old soldier, he was governing the Moors

Mauris et tumultuaria manu accepto a Gordiano successore Carthaginem petiit, ad quem omnis fide Punica
2 Carthaginiensium populus inclinavit. Gordianus tamen fortunam belli experiri cupiens filium suum iam natu grandiorem, quadraginta et sex annos agentem, quem tunc legati loco, ut diximus, habuerat, contra Capelianum et Maximinianos misit, virum de cuius moribus
3 suo loco dicemus. sed cum in re militari et Capelianus esset audacior et Gordianus iunior non tam exercitatus, quippe qui nobilitatis deliciis tardabatur, pugna commissa vincitur et in eodem bello interficitur.

XVI. Fertur autem tanta multitudo Gordiani partium in bello cecidisse, ut, cum diu quaesitum sit
2 corpus Gordiani iunioris, non potuerit inveniri. fuit praeterea ingens, quae raro in Africa est, tempestas, quae Gordiani exercitum ante bellum ita dissipavit ut minus idonei milites proelio fierent, atque ita facilis esset Capeliani victoria.

3 Haec ubi comperit senior Gordianus, cum in Africa nihil praesidii, et a Maximino multum timoris et fides Punica perurgueret, et acerrime Capelianus instaret, luctus deinde mentem atque animum fatigaret, laqueo vitam finivit.

4 Hic exitus duorum Gordianorum fuit, quos ambos senatus Augustos appellavit et postea inter divos rettulit.

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[1] See c. xviii-xix.

[2] Herodian says nothing of this storm, but adds that Gordian's men were untrained and inadequately armed; see vii. 9, 5-6.

[3] They reigned 20-22 days in February and March, 238.

[4] See *Max.-Balb.*, iv. 1-2.

by Maximinus' appointment. And so when Gordian dismissed him, he gathered the Moors together and with an irregular force of them came up to Carthage, the people of which, with typical Punic faith, came over to him. None the less, Gordian desired to hazard the chances of war, and sent against them his son, now well advanced in years (he was then forty-six years old), and at that time his father's legate; we shall give a resumé of his character in its proper place.[1] But in military affairs not only was Capelianus the bolder man, but the younger Gordian was less well trained, placed at a disadvantage, as he was, by the luxurious life of the nobility. When they joined battle, accordingly, he was beaten, and in the same campaign slain.

XVI. Such a host of Gordian's party fell in this campaign, it is said, that the body of the younger Gordian, although it was long searched for, could not be found. There was a great storm, moreover,—a rare thing in Africa—which scattered Gordian's army before the battle and also made the soldiers less fit for the fight, and on this account Capelianus' victory was the easier.[2]

And when the elder Gordian learned of this, seeing there was no aid in Africa, and being distressed with a great fear of Maximinus and by knowledge of Punic faith, also because Capelianus was assailing him very sharply, and because in the end the struggle had wearied him in mind and soul, he took a rope and hanged himself.

This was the end of two of the Gordians.[3] Both of them were named Augusti by the senate and afterwards placed among the gods.[4]

GORDIANUS IUNIOR

XVII. Hic Gordiani senis, proconsulis Africae, filius, qui cum patre et ab Afris et a senatu Augustus appellatus est, litteris et moribus clarus fuit praeter nobilitatem, quam,[1] ut nonnulli, ab Antoninis, ut plurimi, ab Antoniis duxit[2]; si quidem argumento ad probandam generis qualitatem alii hoc esse desiderant,[3] quod Africanus Gordianus senior appellatus est cognomine Scipionum, quod domum Pompeianam in urbe habuit, quod Antoninorum cognomine semper est nuncupatus, quod Antonium filium suum ipse significari voluit in senatu; quae singula videntur familias designare. sed ego Iunium Cordum sequor, qui dicit ex omnibus his familiis Gordianorum coaluisse nobilitatem. idem igitur natus patri primus ex Fabia Orestilla, Antonini pronepte, unde Caesarum quoque familiam contingere videbatur. et primis diebus sui natalis Antoninus est appellatus, mox in senatu Antonii[4] nomen est editum, vulgo deinde Gordianus haberi coeptus.

XVIII. In studiis gravissimae opinionis fuit, forma conspicuus, memoriae singularis, bonitatis insignis, adeo ut semper in scholis, si quis puerorum verbera-

[1] *quam* ins. in Edit. princ. and by Jordan; om. in P and by Peter. [2] *ut nonnulli . . . duxit* del. by Peter. [3] *desiderant* P, Novák; *disserant* Peter. [4] *Antonii* Ursinus, Peter; *Antonini* P.

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[1] On the confusion of the names Antoninus and Antonius as borne by the Gordians see note to c. iv. 7.

[2] See c. ix. 3-4 and notes. [3] See c. ii. 3.

[4] She is not otherwise known; her father is called Annius

GORDIAN THE SECOND.

XVII. This was the son of the old Gordian, the proconsul of Africa. He too was named Augustus by the Africans and the senate at the same time as his father, and he was illustrious in culture and character as well as in noble rank; the last, according to many writers, he derived from the Antonines, although most say from the Antonii.[1] Others adduce the following facts as evidence to show the high quality of his family—that the elder Gordian was called Africanus, the honorary surname of the Scipios[2]; that he possessed the House of Pompey in the city[3]; that he was always given the surname of the Antonines; and that he himself expressed a desire in the senate that his son should be known as Antonius. Each of these, they believe, represents a family connection. I, however, follow Junius Cordus, who says that the nobility of the Gordians was derived from all these families. At any rate, he was the first offspring of his father, Gordian, and Fabia Orestilla, the great-granddaughter of Antoninus,[4] through whom he seemed also to be linked with the family of the Caesars. A few days after his birth he was given the name Antoninus; later, in the senate, he was publicly named Antonius; and the people finally began to call him Gordian.

XVIII. He took his studies very seriously. In person he was remarkably good looking; his memory was extraordinary. He was very kind of heart; indeed, when any of the boys was flogged at school,

Severus in c. vi. 4. Her alleged descent from Marcus Aurelius is probably apocryphal and quite in keeping with the general tendency to connect the Gordians with the Antonines.

retur, ille lacrimas non teneret. Sereno Sammonico, qui patris eius amicissimus, sibi autem praeceptor fuit, nimis acceptus et carus usque adeo ut omnes libros Sereni Sammonici patris sui, qui censebantur ad sexaginta et duo milia, Gordiano[1] minori moriens ille relinqueret. quod eum ad caelum tulit, si quidem tantae bibliothecae copia et splendore donatus in famam hominum litterarum decore pervenit.

Quaesturam Heliogabalo auctore promeruit, idcirco quod luxurioso imperatori lascivia iuvenis, non tamen luxuriosa neque infamis, praedicata est. praeturam Alexandro auctore urbanam tenuit, in qua tantus iuris dictionis gratia fuit ut statim consulatum, quem pater sero acceperat, mereretur. Maximini seu eiusdem Alexandri temporibus ad proconsulatum patris missus legatus est obsecutus,[2] atque illic ea quae superius dicta sunt contigerunt.

XIX. Fuit vini cupidior, semper tamen undecumque conditi, nunc rosa, nunc mastice, nunc absentio ceterisque rebus, quibus gula maxime delectatur. cibi parcus, ita ut intra punctum temporis vel prandium, si pranderet, vel cenam finiret. mulierum cupidissimus ; habuisse enim decretas sibi concubinas viginti et duas fertur. ex quibus omnibus ternos et quaternos filios dereliquit. appellatusque est sui temporis Priamus, quem vulgo iocantes, quod esset natura propensior, Priapum, non Priamum, saepe vocitarunt.

[1] *qui Gordiano* P. [2] *obsecutus* P, Peter[1], Bitschofsky ; *ab senatu* Madvig, Peter[2].

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[1] See *Alex.*, xxx. 2 and note.
[2] See note to c. iv. 1. [3] See c. vii. f.
[4] The father of 50 sons ; see *Iliad*, xxiv. 495.
[5] The god of fertility.

he could not restrain his tears. Serenus Sammonicus,[1] a great friend of his father's, was his tutor, and a very beloved and agreeable one he was; in fact, when he died, he left the young Gordian all the books that had belonged to his father, Serenus Sammonicus, and these were estimated at sixty-two thousand. And this raised him to the seventh heaven, for being now possessed of a library of such magnitude and excellence, thanks to the power of letters he became famous among men.

He won his quaestorship upon the recommendation of Elagabalus; for the wildness of the young man, which was nevertheless neither extravagant nor depraved, had found him favour with that extravagant emperor. He held the city-praetorship on the recommendation of Alexander, and did so well in this office, chiefly in administering the law, that he was immediately given the consulship,[2] which his father had won late in life. And in the time either of Maximinus or of this same Alexander, being sent to his father's proconsular command, he served as his legate, and then happened what has been related above.[3]

XIX. He was somewhat fond of wine, but always, however, of wine in some way spiced, at one time with roses, again with mastic, again with wormwood and various other herbs—all of which are most pleasing to the palate. He ate sparingly; indeed he finished his luncheon—if he lunched at all—or his dinner in an instant. He was very fond of women; indeed, it is said that he had twenty-two concubines decreed him, from all of whom he left three or four children apiece. He was nicknamed, in fact, the Priam[4] of his age, but often the crowd jestingly called him not Priam but Priapus,[5] as being nearer to his character.

5 vixit in deliciis, in hortis, in balneis, in amoenissimis nemoribus, nec pater aspernatus est, saepissime dicens illum quandoque in summa claritate cito esse
6 moriturum. nec tamen vita sua fortitudine a bonis[1] umquam degeneravit, semperque inter inlustrissimos fuit cives nec rei publicae ad consultationem defuit.
7 denique etiam senatus libentissime illum Augustum
8 appellavit atque in eo spem publicam posuit. vestitu
9 cultissimus, servis et omnibus suis carus. Cordus dicit uxorem eum numquam habere voluisse. contra Dexippus putat eius filium esse Gordianum tertium, qui post hoc cum Balbino et Pupieno sive Maximo puerulus est adeptus imperium.

XX. Cum senior Gordianus mathematicum aliquando consuleret de genitura huius, respondisse ille dicitur hunc et filium imperatoris et patrem et[2] ipsum
2 imperatorem futurum. et cum senior Gordianus rideret, ostendisse constellationem mathematicum ferunt et de libris veteribus dictasse, ita ut probaret se vera dixisse. qui quidem et seni et iuveni et diem et genus mortis et loca, quibus essent perituri,
4 obstinata constantia e veritate praedixit. quae omnia postea Gordianus senior in Africa, iam imperator et quando nihil timebat, narrasse perhibetur, de morte quin etiam sua filiique et de genere mortis dixisse.
5 cantabat praeterea versus senex, cum Gordianum filium vidisset, hos saepissime :

[1] So (in general) Salm.; *uita sua nec tamen fortitudinem bonis* P, regarded as corrupt by Peter[2]. [2] *et* om. in P.

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[1] See c. xxii. 4 and note.

[2] Vergil, *Aeneid*, vi. 869-871, where they describe Marcellus,

He lived in revelry—in gardens, in baths, and in most delightful groves. Nor did his father ever rebuke him, but on the contrary very often said that sometime soon he would die in the greatest eminence. Yet in his manner of life he never was inferior to the good in bravery, and he was ever among the most distinguished of citizens and never failed the commonwealth with advice. And the senate, finally, entitled him Augustus with the greatest joy and laid on him the hopes of the state. He was very elegant in his dress, and beloved by his slaves and entire household. Cordus says that he was never willing to have a wife, but Dexippus thinks that the third Gordian was his son[1]—the boy, that is, who was afterwards made emperor with Balbinus and Pupienus (or Maximus).

XX. At one time the elder Gordian consulted an astrologer about his son's nativity, and the astrologer, it is said, answered that the child would be both son and father of an emperor, and that he also would be emperor. Gordian laughed; but then, they say, the astrologer pointed out the constellation and read from ancient books until he proved that he had spoken the truth. This same astrologer, moreover, predicted truthfully the day and the manner of the deaths of both father and son, and the places where they would die, all with stubborn firmness. In after days, it is said, the elder Gordian recounted all of this in Africa, at a time when he was emperor and had nothing to fear—indeed, he spoke of his own death and his son's and of the manner in which they would die. Often, too, the old man recited these verses when he saw his son[2]:

[1] Augustus' nephew and heir presumptive. They are also applied to Aelius Verus, adopted son of Hadrian, in *Ael.*, iv. 1-2.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra
esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago
visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.

6 Exstant dicta et soluta oratione et versibus Gordiani iunioris, quae hodie ab eius adfinibus frequentantur, non magna, non minima sed media et quae appareant [1] hominis esse ingeniosi sed luxuriantis et suum deserentis ingenium.

XXI. Pomorum et holerum avidissimus fuit, ut,[2] in reliquo ciborum genere parcissimus, semper pomorum
2 aliquid recentium devoraret. frigidarum percupidus nec facile per aestatem nisi frigidas et quam plurimas bibit. et erat corporis vasti, quare magis ad frigidas urguebatur.

3 Haec de Gordiano iuniore digna memoratus comperimus; non enim nobis talia dicenda sunt quae [3] Iunius Cordus ridicule ac stulte composuit de volup-
4 tatibus domesticis ceterisque infimis rebus. quae qui velit scire, ipsum legat Cordum, qui dicit et quos servos habuerit unusquisque principum et quos amicos et quot paenulas quotve chlamydes. quorum etiam scientia nulli rei prodest, si quidem ea debeant in historia poni ab historiographis quae aut fugienda sint aut sequenda.

[1] *appareant* Damsté; *appareat* P, Peter. Oberdick and Peter [2]; om. in P and Peter [1]. [2] *ut* ins. by [3] *dicenda sunt quae* Salm., Peter; *dicentes unoque* P.

[1] Nothing is known of these works.

"Him the fates only displayed to the circle of lands,
and no longer
Suffered to be. Too great, too great did Rome's
generations
Seem to you else, O Gods, had this gift really been
granted."

There are still in existence various things written by the younger Gordian in both prose and verse,[1] which are often quoted by his kinsmen today. These are neither good nor yet very bad, but rather mediocre. They seem, in truth, the work of one who was really talented but gave himself over to pleasure and wasted his genius.

XXI. He was extremely fond of fruit and greens; in fact, though very abstemious in his use of other kinds of food, he was continually eating fresh fruit. He had a craving for cold drinks, and passed the summer with great difficulty unless he drank cold drinks and a great many of them. He was of huge size, as a matter of fact, and this somewhat stimulated his longing for cold drinks.

This is what we have discovered about the younger Gordian that is worthy of mention. For we do not think we need recount absurd and silly tales such as Junius Cordus has written concerning his domestic pleasures and petty matters of that sort. If any desire to know these things, let them read Cordus; Cordus tells what slaves each and every emperor had and what friends, how many mantles and how many cloaks. Knowledge of this sort of thing does no one any good. It is the duty of historians, rather, to set down in their histories such things as are to be avoided or sought after.

5 Sane quod praetermittendum esse non censui, quia mirabile visum est, lectum apud Vulcatium Terentianum, qui et ipse historiam sui temporis scripsit, in litteras misi, Gordianum seniorem Augusti vultum sic repraesentasse ut et vocem et morem et staturam eiusdem ostentare videretur, filium vero Pompeio simillimum visum, quamvis Pompeius obesi corporis fuisse denegetur; nepotem autem, cuius etiam nunc imagines videmus, Scipionis Asiatici faciem rettulisse, quod pro sui admiratione tacendum esse non credidi.

GORDIANUS TERTIUS

XXII. Post mortem duorum Gordianorum senatus trepidus et Maximinum vehementius timens ex viginti viris, quos ad rem publicam tuendam delegerat, Pupienum sive Maximum et Clodium Balbinum
2 Augustos appellavit, ambos ex consulibus. tunc populus et milites Gordianum parvulum, annos agentem, ut plerique adserunt, undecim, ut nonnulli, tredecim, ut Iunius Cordus dicit, sedecim (nam vicensimo et secundo anno eum perisse adserit), petiverunt,
3 ut Caesar appellaretur; raptusque ad senatum atque inde[1] in contione positus indumento imperatorio tectus Caesar est nuncupatus.

[1] *inde* ins. by Jordan and Peter; om. in P.

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[1] Nothing is known of him. There is no reason for identifying him, as has sometimes been done, with the Vulcacius mentioned by Jerome (*Apol. c. Rufinum*, i. 16) as a commentator to Cicero.

[2] See *Maxim.*, xx. 1 and notes; *Max.-Balb.*, i.—ii.

[3] As the result of a riot on the part of the city-mob (with whom Maximus was unpopular), instigated apparently by the partisans of the Gordians; see Herodian, vii. 10, 5-9 and note to *Maxim.*, xx. 6. In *Max.-Balb.*, iii. 2-5 and viii. 3 the acclamation of Gordian as Caesar is described as peaceful,

But truly I have decided that I must not omit this, which I read in Vulcatius Terentianus,[1] who wrote a history of his time, because it seems a marvellous thing. So I write it down. The elder Gordian resembled the face of Augustus perfectly; he seemed, indeed, to have his very voice and mannerisms and stature; his son, in turn, seemed like to Pompey, although it is true that Pompey was not obese of person; his grandson, finally, whose portraits we can see today, bore the appearance of Scipio Asiaticus. This, because of its very strangeness, I have decided should not be passed over in silence.

GORDIAN THE THIRD

XXII. On the death of the two Gordians, the senate, being now thoroughly agitated and in even more violent terror of Maximinus, chose Pupienus (or Maximus) and Clodius Balbinus, both ex-consuls, from the twenty men whom they had elected to protect the state, and declared them emperors.[2] But on this the populace and soldiers demanded that the child Gordian should be made Caesar,[3] he being then, so most authorities declare, eleven years old; some, however, say thirteen,[4] and Junius Cordus says sixteen (for Cordus says that he was in his twenty-second year when he died). At any rate, he was hurried to the senate and thence taken to an assembly, and there they clothed him in the imperial garments and hailed him as Caesar.[5]

while in ix. 2-4 the riot is described as happening on a later occasion.

[4] This seems to be the correct figure; so also *Max.-Balb.*, iii. 4; Herodian, viii. 8, 8.

[5] He is called *Nobilissimus Caesar* in the inscriptions of Maximus and Balbinus, *e.g.* Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 496.

4 Hic natus est, ut plures adserunt, ex filia Gordiani, ut unus aut duo (nam amplius invenire non potui), 5 ex filio, qui in Africa periit. Gordianus scilicet Caesar factus apud matrem educatus est et, cum exstinctis Maximinis Maximus etiam et Balbinus militari seditione interempti essent, qui biennio imperaverant, Gordianus adulescens, qui Caesar eatenus fuerat, et a militibus et populo et a senatu et ab omnibus gentibus ingenti amore, ingenti studio 6 et gratia Augustus est appellatus. amabatur autem merito avi et avunculi sive patris, qui ambo pro senatu et pro populo Romano contra Maximinum arma sumpserunt et militari[1] vel morte vel necessitate perierunt.

7 Post hoc veterani ad Curiam venerunt, ut discerent 8 quid actum esset. ex quibus duo ingressi Capitolium, cum illic senatus ageretur, ante ipsam aram a Gallicano ex consulibus et Maecenate ex ducibus inter- 9 empti sunt; atque bellum intestinum ortum est, cum essent armati etiam senatores, ignorantibus veteranis quod Gordianus adulescens solus teneret imperium.

XXIII. Dexippus quidem adseverat ex filio Gordiani tertium

[1] *militaris* P, Peter.

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[1] This is the correct version; so also *Max.-Balb.*, iii. 4 and Herodian, vii. 10. 7. In his inscriptions he is called *Divi Gordiani nepos et Divi Gordiani sororis filius;* see *e.g.* Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 498 and 500. In Victor (*Caes.*, xxvii. 1) and Eutropius (ix. 2) he is confused with Gordian II.; see note to c. i. 1. For the names of his parents see c. iv. 2.

[2] For the length of their rule see note to *Max.-Balb.*, xv. 7; for their deaths see *ib.*, xiv. 2-7.

[3] Probably in June 238, according to the evidence of papyri; see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl*, i. 2621 f.

[4] The connection has become confused, probably by the

According to most authorities, he was the son of Gordian's daughter,[1] but one or two (I have been unable to discover more) say that he was the child of that son of Gordian who was killed in Africa. However this may be, after he was made Caesar he was reared at his mother's house. But when Maximus and Balbinus had ruled for two years after the death of the Maximini [2] they were slain in a mutiny of the soldiers, and the young Gordian, who had been Caesar until then, was declared Augustus [3]—the soldiers, populace, senate, and all the peoples of the Empire uniting with great love, great eagerness, and great gratitude to do so. For they loved him exceedingly because of his grandfather and uncle (or father), who had both taken up arms in behalf of the senate and Roman people against Maximinus and had both perished, the one by a soldier's death, the other through a soldier's despair.

After this [4] a body of veterans came to the Senate-house to learn what had taken place. And two of them, having gone up to the Capitol—for the senate was meeting there,—were slain by Gallicanus, a former consul, and Maecenas, a former general, before the very altar, and a civil war sprang up, in which even the senators were armed; for the veterans were unaware that the young Gordian was holding the imperial power alone.[5] XXIII. (Dexippus says that

insertion of the preceding paragraph; this narrative should follow immediately after § 3. The riot here described (briefly alluded to in *Maxim.*, xx. 6) took place during the absence of Maximus in N. Italy and consequently before the death of Maximus and Balbinus; see *Max.-Balb.*, x. 4-8; Herodian, vii. 11.

[5] This is incorrect; he was only Caesar.

Gordianum esse natum.[1] at posteaquam constitit apud veteranos quoque solum Gordianum imperare, inter populum et milites ac veteranos pax roborata est, et hic finis belli intestini fuit, cum esset delatus
2 Gordiano puero consulatus. sed indicium non diu imperaturi Gordiani hoc fuit quod eclipsis solis facta est, ut nox crederetur, neque sine luminibus accensis
3 quicquam agi posset. post haec tamen voluptatibus et deliciis populus Romanus vacavit, ut ea quae fuerant aspere gesta mitigaret.

4 Venusto et Sabino consulibus inita est factio in Africa contra Gordianum tertium duce Sabiniano ; quem Gordianus per praesidem Mauretaniae obsessum a coniuratis ita oppressit ut ad eum tradendum Carthaginem omnes venirent et crimina confitentes
5 et veniam sceleribus postulantes. finita igitur sollicitudine in Africa Gordiano iam iterum et Pompeiano
6 consulibus bellum Persicum natum est. quando et adulescens Gordianus, priusquam ad bellum proficis-

[1] *Dexippus . . . natum* del. by Becker and Peter.

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[1] For 239. [2] Probably that of the 2nd April, 238.
[3] The history of Herodian closes with the murder of Maximus and Balbinus. From this point on, therefore,

Gordian the third was the child of Gordian's son). But shortly afterwards, when it was understood among the veterans that Gordian was ruling alone, a peace was confirmed between the populace and the soldiers and veterans, and an end of the civil strife was made when the boy was given the consulship.[1] There was an omen, however, that Gordian was not to rule for long, which was this: there occurred an eclipse of the sun,[2] so black that men thought it was night and business could not be transacted without the aid of lanterns. None the less, after it the populace devoted itself to spectacles and revelry, to dull the memory of the hard things that had been done before.

In the consulship of Venustus and Sabinus[3] a re- 240
volt broke out in Africa against Gordian the third under the leadership of Sabinianus.[4] But the governor of Mauretania, who was first beset by the conspirators, crushed it for Gordian so severely that all of them came up to Carthage to surrender Sabinianus and confessed their wrong and sought pardon for it. When, however, this trouble in Africa had been ended, a war broke out with the Persians[5]—this being in the first consulship of Pompeianus and the second of 241
Gordian. But before setting out for this war the

the biographer is dependent on some other source. The exact statement of events and dates, as here and in § 5, as well as c. xxvi. 3 and c. xxix. 1, suggests the use of an annalistic work, which is probably the Chronicle of Dexippus; see note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3. The material afforded by this work was then padded in the usual manner with anecdotes and spurious "documents."

[4] Perhaps the governor of the province of Africa.

[5] See c. xxvi. 3 f.

ceretur, et duxit uxorem filiam Misithei, doctissimi viri, quem causa eloquentiae dignum parentela sua
7 putavit et praefectum statim fecit. post quod non puerile iam et contemptibile videbatur imperium, si quidem et optimi soceri consiliis adiuvaretur, et ipse pro parte[1] aliquantulum saperet nec per spadones ac ministros aulicos matris vel ignorantia vel[2] coniventia venderetur.

XXIV. Exstat denique et soceri eius ad eum epistula et ipsius Gordiani ad socerum, qua intellegitur eius saeculum emendatius ac diligentius socero adiuvante perfectum. quarum exemplum hoc est:

2 "Domino filio et Augusto Misitheus socer et praefectus. evasisse nos gravem temporum maculam, qua per spadones et per illos qui amici tibi videbantur (erant autem vehementes inimici) omnia vendebantur, voluptati est,[3] et eo magis, quo tibi gratior emendatio est, ut, si qua vitia fuerunt, tua non fuisse satis con-
3 stet, mi fili venerabilis. neque enim quisquam ferre potuit datas eunuchis suffragantibus militum praeposituras, negatum laboribus praemium, aut interemptos aut liberatos pro libidine atque mercede quos

[1] *parte* Peter; *pietate* P. [2] *uel* om. in P. [3] *est* om. in P.

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[1] The correct form of his name was C. Furius Sabinius Aquila Timesitheus, as it is preserved in an inscription, *C.I.L.*, xiii. 1807 = Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 1330. The origin of the incorrect form Misitheus is uncertain. His daughter's name was Furia Sabinia Tranquillina; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 502-504. Timesitheus was a member of the equestrian order and had held many important procuratorships previous to his appointment as prefect of the guard. All the evidence points to the belief that he was an able and conscientious official

young Gordian took a wife, the daughter of Timesitheus,[1] a most erudite man, whom Gordian considered worthy of being his relation because of his powers of eloquence and immediately made his prefect. After this his rule seemed not in the least that of a child or contemptible, since he was aided by the advice of this excellent father-in-law, while he himself, on his own account, developed considerable sagacity and did not let his favours be sold by the eunuchs and attendants at court through his mother's ignorance or connivance.

XXIV. There is still in existence a letter from Gordian to his father-in-law and also one from his father-in-law to him, in which we can see how faultlessly and zealously he and his father-in-law strove to perfect their age. This is a copy of the letters:

"To my imperial son and Augustus, from Timesitheus, his prefect and father-in-law. One serious scandal of our age we have escaped; the scandal, I mean, that eunuchs and those who pretend to be your friends (though really they are your worst enemies) arrange all things for money. This is all the more agreeable, and it should make this improvement more pleasing to you too, because if there have been any failings, it seems assured, my revered son, that they have not been yours. For no one could bear it when commissions in the army were given out on the nomination of eunuchs, when labours were denied their due reward, when men who should not have

and a skilful general, and the biographer is doubtless correct in attributing to him the successes of the Persian campaign (c. xxvii. 2) as well as in his general statement that he was the mainstay of this reign; see § 7; c. xxiv. 1; c. xxv. 5-7; c. xxviii.

non decebat, vacuatum aerarium, per eos qui cottidie insidiosissime frequentabant initas factiones, ut tu decipereris, cum inter se de bonis pessimi quique haberent ante consilia tibimet suggerenda, bonos pellerent, detestandos insinuarent, omnes postremo
4 tuas fabulas venderent. dis igitur gratias, quod
5 volente te[1] ipso emendata res est. delectat sane boni esse principis socerum et eius qui omnia requirat et omnia velit scire et qui pepulerit homines per quos antea velut in auctione positus nundinatus est."

XXV. Item Gordiani ad ipsum:

"Imperator Gordianus Augustus Misitheo patri et praefecto. nisi di omnipotentes Romanum tuerentur imperium, etiam nunc per emptos spadones velut in
2 hasta positi venderemur. denique nunc demum intellego, neque Feliciones praetorianis cohortibus praeponi debuisse, neque Serapammoni quartam legionem credendam fuisse, et, ut omnia dinumerare mittam,[2] multa non esse facienda quae feci; sed dis gratias, quod te insinuante, qui nihil vendis, didici ea
3 quae inclusus scire non poteram. quid enim facerem, quod et mater nos[3] venderet et consilio cum Gaudiano et Reverendo et Montano habito vel laudaret aliquos vel vituperaret, et illorum consensu quasi testium

[1] *te* Peter[1]; *in te* P. [2] *ut . . . dinumerare mittam, non fuisse* Haupt, Peter[2]; *ut . . . dinumeraiem multa non esse* P. [3] *et mater nos* Petschenig; *ad mauros* P; *Admau† nos* Peter.

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[1] This name and the others which immediately follow are wholly unknown, and, like the letter itself, are probably fictitious. For an attempt to prove that both letters were

been were slain or set free through caprice or bribery, when the treasury was drained, when conspiracies were fomented by those who moved cunningly about you every day, that you, too, might be finally ensnared, while all evil men settled beforehand among themselves what to advise you about the righteous, drove away the good, introduced the abominable, and, in the end, sold all your secrets for a price. Let the gods be thanked, then, that this evil has been done away with, as you, too, desired! Truly it delights me to be the father-in-law of a worthy emperor; and of one, too, who inquires into everything and wishes to know everything, and has driven away the men who formerly sold him as though he were set up in open market."

XXV. Likewise Gordian's letter to Timesitheus:

"From the Emperor Gordian Augustus to Timesitheus, his father-in-law and prefect. Were it not that the mighty gods watch over the Roman Empire, even now we should be sold by bought eunuchs as though under the hammer. Now at last I know that a Felicio[1] should not have been put in command of the praetorian guard and that I should not have entrusted the Fourth Legion to a Serapammon; in fact, to give no further examples, that I should not have done much that I did do; but now, the gods be thanked, I have learned from suggestions by you, who are incorruptible, what I could not know by myself. For what could I do?—since even our mother was betraying us, she who used to take counsel with Gaudianus, Reverendus, and Montanus and then praise men or traduce them accordingly,

written by Timesitheus see K. F. W. Lehmann, *Kaiser Gordian* III (Berlin, 1911), pp. 19 f., 65 f.

4 quod dixerat adprobaret[1]? mi pater, verum audias velim: miser est imperator apud quem vera reticentur, qui cum ipse publice ambulare non possit, necesse est ut audiat et vel audita vel a plurimis roborata confirmet."

5 His epistulis intellectum est adulescentem soceri
6 consilii emendatum atque correctum. et Misithei quidem epistulam Graecam quidam fuisse dicunt, sed
7 in hanc sententiam. tantum autem valuit eius gravitas et sanctimonia, ut ex obscurissimo praeter nobilitatem gestis etiam Gordianum clarum principem fecerit.

XXVI. Fuit terrae motus eo usque gravis imperante Gordiano, ut civitates etiam terrae hiatu cum populis deperirent. ob quae sacrificia per totam urbem totum-
2 que orbem terrarum ingentia celebrata sunt. et Cordus quidem dicit inspectis libris Sibyllinis celebratisque omnibus quae illic iussa videbantur mundanum malum esse sedatum.

3 Sedato terrae motu Praetextato et Attico consulibus Gordianus aperto Iano gemino, quod signum erat indicti belli, profectus est contra Persas cum exercitu ingenti et tanto auro, ut vel auxiliis vel militibus

[1] *adprobaret* sugg. by Peter; *adprobarem* P.

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[1] The sanctuary of Janus, on the N.E. side of the Forum, near the Senate-house, consisting of two arches, facing E. and W., connected by side-walls.

[2] They had apparently advanced into northern Mesopotamia during the reign of Maximinus; see *Max-Balb.*, xiii. 5; Zonaras, xii. 18. Now, under their new king Sapor I, son of Ardashīr, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty (see note to *Alex.*, lv. 1), they crossed the Euphrates and threatened Antioch—which, in spite of the statement in §§ 5-6, does not seem to have been captured by them; see Mommsen,

and by their testimony as though by the evidence of witnesses she would prove what she had said. My father, I should like you to hear a true thing: wretched is an emperor before whom men do not speak out the truth, for since he himself cannot walk out among the people he can only hear things, and then believe either what he has heard or what the majority have corroborated."

From these letters one can see how the young man had been improved and bettered by his father-in-law's counsel. Some say that Timesitheus' letter was written in Greek but in any case to the above effect. So great was the power, moreover, of his strength of character and righteousness, that he rose from great obscurity to make the Emperor Gordian illustrious not only for his noble birth but also for his deeds.

XXVI. There was a severe earthquake in Gordian's reign—so severe that whole cities with all their inhabitants disappeared in the opening of the ground. Vast sacrifices were offered through the entire city and the entire world because of this. And Cordus says that the Sibylline Books were consulted, and everything that seemed ordered therein done; whereupon this world-wide evil was stayed.

But after this earthquake was stayed, in the consulship of Praetextatus and Atticus, Gordian opened 242
the twin gates of Janus,[1] which was a sign that war had been declared, and set out against the Persians [2] with so huge an army and so much gold as easily to conquer the Persians with either his regulars or his

Provinces of the Rom. Emp., Eng. Trans., ii. p. 98. Gordian's departure from Rome was commemorated by coins with the legend *Profectio Aug(usti)*; see Cohen, v², p. 54, no. 294.

facile Persas evinceret. fecit iter in[1] Moesiam atque in ipso procinctu quicquid hostium in Thraciis fuit delevit, fugavit, expulit atque summovit. inde per Syriam Antiochiam venit, quae a Persis iam tenebatur. illic frequentibus proeliis pugnavit et vicit Sapore Persarum rege summoto. et post Artaxansen et Antiochiam recepit et Carrhas et Nisibin, quae
XXVII. omnia sub Persarum imperio erant. rex sane Persarum tantum Gordianum principem timuit ut, cum instructus esset et suis copiis et nostris, tamen civitatibus ipse praesidia sponte deduceret easque integras suis civibus[2] redderet, ita ut nihil, quod ad eorum fortunas pertinet, adtaminaret. sed haec omnia per Misitheum, socerum Gordiani eundemque praefectum, gesta sunt. effectum denique est ut Persae, qui iam in Italia timebantur, in regnum suum pugnante Gordiano redirent, totumque orientem Romana res publica detineret.

Exstat oratio Gordiani ad senatum, qua de rebus gestis[3] suis scribens Misitheo praefecto suo et socero ingentes gratias agit. cuius partem indidi, ut ex eo vera cognosceres: "Post haec, patres conscripti, quae,

[1] *inter* P. [2] *ciuibus* Jordan; *ciuitatibus* P, Peter. [3] *gestis* ins. by Jordan and Peter; om. in P.

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[1] These were probably the Carpi and the Goths; see *Max.-Balb.*, xvi. 3 and notes. The Alani were probably associated with them; see c. xxxiv. 4.

[2] His passage of the Hellespont is commemorated by coins with the legend *Traiectus Aug(usti)*, Cohen, v², p. 58 f., no. 342 f.

[3] A decisive victory was gained at Resaina (mod. Râs-el-Ain) in northern Mesopotamia between Carrhae and Nisibis; see Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5, 17. From here he marched

auxiliaries. He marched into Moesia and there, even while making ready, he destroyed, put to flight, expelled, and drove away whatever forces of the enemy were in Thrace.[1] From there [2] he marched through Syria to Antioch, which was then in the possession of the Persians. There he fought and won repeated battles, and drove out Sapor, the Persians' king.[3] After this he recovered Artaxanses,[4] Antioch, Carrhae, and Nisibis, all of which had been included in the Persian empire. XXVII. Indeed the king of the Persians became so fearful of the Emperor Gordian that, though he was provided with forces both from his own lands and from ours, he nevertheless evacuated the cities and restored them unharmed to their citizens; nor did he injure their possessions in any way. All this, however, was accomplished by Timesitheus, Gordian's father-in-law and prefect. And in the end Gordian's campaign forced the Persians, who were then dreaded even in Italy, to return to their own kingdom, and the Roman power occupied the whole of the East.

There is still in existence an oration of Gordian's to the senate, wherein while writing of his deeds he gives boundless thanks to his prefect and father-in-law Timesitheus. I have set down a part of it, that from this you may learn his actual words: "After those deeds, Conscript Fathers, which were done

southward along the river Khabûr, apparently having Ctesiphon as his objective (Zonaras, xii. 18), to its junction with the Euphrates, near which he was killed. His conquest of northern Mesopotamia is attested by the coins minted in his honour by Edessa (mod. Urfa), Carrhae, Nisibis, and other cities of that region; see Cohen, v², p. 86 f.

[4] Unknown; the text is probably corrupt.

dum iter agimus, gesta sunt quaeque ubique singulis triumphis digna sunt actitata, etiam Persas, ut brevi multa conectam, ab Antiochensium cervicibus, quas iam nexas Persico ferro gerebant, et reges Persarum
6 et leges amovimus. Carrhas deinde ceterasque urbes imperio Romano reddidimus. Nisibin usque pervenimus et, si di faverint, Ctesiphonta usque veniemus.
7 valeat tantum Misitheus praefectus et parens noster, cuius ductu et dispositione et haec transegimus et
8 reliqua transigemus. vestrum est igitur supplicationes decernere, nos dis commendare, Misitheo gratias agere."
9 His in senatu lectis quadrigae elephantorum Gordiano decretae sunt, utpote qui Persas vicisset, ut triumpho Persico triumpharet, Misitheo autem quadriga sex equorum et triumphalis currus et titulus
10 huiusmodi: "Misitheo eminenti viro, parenti principum, praefecto praetorii et totius urbis,[1] tutori rei publicae senatus populusque Romanus vicem reddidit."

XXVIII. Sed ista felicitas longior esse non potuit. nam Misitheus, quantum plerique dicunt, artibus Philippi, qui post eum praefectus praetorii est factus, ut alii, morbo exstinctus est, herede Romana re publica, ut quicquid eius fuerat vectigalibus urbis
2 accederet. cuius viri tanta in re publica dispositio

[1] <*praefecto*> *praetorii*, † *totius urbis* Peter[1]; *praetotius urbis* P[1]; *praetori totius urbis* P corr.; *prae* <*fecto prae*> *torii*, <*tutori*> *totius urbis* Peter[2].

[1] M. Julius Philippus (Arabs), a native, probably, of Philippopolis (mod. Shehbā) in the Trachonitis in northern Arabia. He succeeded to the post of Timesitheus (c. xxix.) and after the murder of Gordian was emperor 244-249. The charge that he

while on our march and done everywhere in a manner worthy of as many separate triumphs, we (to compress much into little) removed from the necks of the people of Antioch, which were bent under the Persian yoke, the Persians, the kings of the Persians, and the Persians' law. After this we restored Carrhae and other cities also to the Roman sway. We have penetrated as far as Nisibis, and if it be pleasing to the gods, we shall even get to Ctesiphon. Only may our prefect and father-in-law Timesitheus prosper, for it was by his leadership and his arrangements that we accomplished these things and shall in the future continue to accomplish them. It is now for you to decree thanksgivings, to commend us to the gods, and to give thanks to Timesitheus."

After this was read to the senate, chariots drawn by four elephants were decreed for Gordian, in order that he might have a Persian triumph inasmuch as he had conquered the Persians, and for Timesitheus a six-horse chariot and a triumphal car and the following inscription: "To His Excellency Timesitheus, Father of Emperors, Prefect of the Guard and of the entire City, Guardian of the State, the senate and the Roman people make grateful acknowledgment."

XXVIII. But such felicity could not endure. For, as most say, through the plotting of Philip,[1] who was made prefect of the guard after him, or, as others say, because of a disease, Timesitheus died, leaving the Roman state as his heir. Everything that had been his was added to the city's revenues. So excellent was this man's management of public affairs that there

was responsible for the death of Timesitheus is repeated in §§ 5-6. It is not substantiated by any evidence.

fuit ut nulla esset umquam civitas limitanea potior et quae posset exercitum populi Romani ac principem ferre, quae totius anni in aceto, frumento et larido atque hordeo et paleis condita non haberet, minores vero urbes aliae triginta dierum, aliae quadraginta, nonnullae duum mensium, quae minimum, quindecim
3 dierum. idem cum esset praefectus, arma militum semper inspexit. nullum senem militare passus est, nullum puerum annonas accipere. castra omnia et fossata eorum [1] circumibat, noctibus etiam plerumque
4 vigilias frequentabat. amabaturque ab omnibus, quod sic et rem publicam amaret et principem. tribuni eum et duces usque adeo timuerunt et amarunt ut neque vellent peccare neque ulla ex parte peccarent.
5 Philippus eum propter pleraque vehementer timuisse fertur atque ob hoc per medicos insidias eius vitae
6 parasse, et quidem hoc genere: cum effusione alvi Misitheus laboraret atque a medicis sistendi ventris gratia poculum iuberetur accipere, mutatis quae fuerant parata id fertur datum quo magis solveretur. atque ita exanimatus est.

XXIX. Quo mortuo Arriano et Papo consulibus in eius locum praefectus praetorii factus est Philippus Arabs, humili genere natus sed [2] superbus, qui se in novitate atque inormitate fortunae non tenuit, ita ut statim Gordiano, qui eum in locum parentis adsciverat, insidias per milites faceret, quae tales fuerunt.
2 Misitheus tantum ubique, quantum diximus, habuerat

[1] *fossata eorum* Salm., Peter; *fossatorum* P. [2] *sed* om. in P.

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[1] So also Victor, *Epit.*, xxviii. 4, where his father is characterized as *nobilissimus latronum ductor*.

[2] A similar, though briefer, account is given in Zosimus, i. 18, 3—19, 1 and Zonaras, xii. 18.

was nowhere a border city of major size, such as could contain an army and emperor of the Roman people, that did not have supplies of cheap wine, grain, bacon, barley, and straw for a year; other smaller cities had supplies for thirty days, some for forty, and not a few for two months, while the very least had supplies for fifteen days. When he was prefect, likewise, he constantly inspected his men's arms. He never let an old man serve and he never let a boy draw rations. He used to go over the camps and their entrenchments, and he even frequently visited the sentries during the night. And because he so loved the emperor and the state, everyone loved him. The tribunes and generals both loved and feared him so much that they were unwilling to do wrong and, for that matter, in no way did wrong. Philip, they say, was mightily in fear of him for many reasons and on this account plotted with the doctors against his life. He did it in this way: Timesitheus, as it happened, was suffering from diarrhœa and was told by the doctors to take a potion to check it. And then, they say, they changed what had been prepared and gave him something which loosened him all the more; and thus he died.

XXIX. When he died, in the consulship of Arrianus and Papus, Philippus Arabs was made prefect of the 243
guard in his place. This Philip was low-born[1] but arrogant, and now could not contain himself in his sudden rise to office and immoderate good fortune, but immediately, through the soldiers, began to plot against Gordian, who had begun to treat him as a father. He did it in the following manner.[2] As we have said, Timesitheus had stored up such a quantity of supplies everywhere, that the Roman administration could not break down. But now Philip intrigued

conditorum ut vacillare dispositio Romana non posset; verum artibus Philippi primum naves frumentariae sunt aversae, deinde in ea loca deducti sunt
3 milites in quibus annonari non posset. hinc Gordiano infestos milites statim reddidit, non intellegentes
4 artibus Philippi iuvenem esse deceptum. sed Philippus etiam hoc addidit ut rumorem per milites spargeret adulescentem esse Gordianum, imperium non posse regere, melius esse illum imperare qui militem
5 gubernaret, qui rem publicam sciret. corrupit praeterea etiam principes, effectumque ut palam Philippus
6 ad imperium posceretur. amici Gordiani primum vehementissime resistebant, sed cum milites fame vincerentur, imperium Philippo mandatum est, iussumque a militibus ut quasi tutor eius Philippus cum eodem Gordiano pariter imperaret.

XXX. Suscepto igitur imperio, cum et Philippus se contra Gordianum superbissime ageret, et ille se imperatorem atque imperatorum prolem et virum nobilissimae familiae recognosceret nec ferre posset improbitatem hominis ignobilis, apud duces et milites adstante praefecto Maecio Gordiano, adfini suo, in tribunali conquestus est, sperans posse imperium
2 Philippo abrogari. sed hac conquestione nihil egit, cum illum incusasset, quod immemor beneficiorum
3 eius sibi minus gratus exsisteret. et cum milites rogasset, cum aperte duces ambisset, factione Philippi
4 minor apud omnes fuit. denique cum se videret

[1] Otherwise unknown.

first to have the grain-ships turned away, and then to have the troops moved to stations where they could not get provisions. In this way he speedily got them exasperated against Gordian, for they did not know that the youth had been betrayed through Philip's intriguing. In addition to this, Philip spread talk among the soldiers to the effect that Gordian was young and could not manage the Empire, and that it were better for someone to rule who could command the army and understood public affairs. Besides this, he won over the leaders, and finally brought it about that they openly called him to the throne. Gordian's friends at first opposed him vigorously, but when the soldiers were at last overcome with hunger Philip was entrusted with the sovereignty, and the soldiers commanded that he and Gordian should rule together with equal rank while Philip acted as a sort of guardian.

XXX. Now that he had gained the imperial power Philip began to bear himself very arrogantly towards Gordian; and he, knowing himself to be an emperor, an emperor's son, and a scion of a most noble family, could not endure this low-born fellow's insolence. And so, mounting the platform, with his kinsman Maecius Gordianus [1] standing by him as his prefect, he complained bitterly to the officers and soldiers in the hope that Philip's office could be taken from him. But by this complaint—in which he accused Philip of being unmindful of past favours and too little grateful—he accomplished nothing. Next he asked the soldiers to make their choice, after openly canvassing the officers, but as a result of Philip's intriguing he came off second in the general vote. And finally, when he saw that everyone considered him worsted,

minorem haberi, petiit ut aequale saltem inter eos
5 esset imperium, nec impetravit. dehinc petiit ut
6 loco Caesaris haberetur, neque id obtinuit. petiit
etiam ut praefecti loco esset Philippo, quod et ipsum
7 negatum est. ultimae preces fuerunt, ut eum Philippus pro duce haberet et pateretur vivere. ad quod quidem paene consenserat Philippus, ipse tacitus sed omnia per amicos agens nutibus atque consiliis.
8 verum cum secum ipse cogitaret amore populi Romani et senatus circa Gordianum et totius Africae ac Syriae totiusque orbis Romani, cum et nobilis esset et nepos ac filius imperatorum et bellis gravibus totam rem publicam liberasset, posse fieri ut flexa[1] quandocumque militum voluntate Gordiano redderetur imperium repetenti,[2] cum in Gordianum irae militum famis causa vehementes essent, clamantem e conspectu
9 duci iussit ac despoliari et occidi. quod cum primo dilatum esset, post ut iussit impletum est. ita Philippus impie non iure obtinuit imperium.

XXXI. Imperavit Gordianus annis sex. atque dum haec agerentur, Argunt Scytharum rex finitimorum regna vastabat, maxime quod compererat Misitheum perisse, cuius consilio res publica fuerat gubernata.
2 Philippus autem, ne a crudelitate nancisci videretur imperium, Romam litteras misit, quibus scripsit Gordi-

[1] *flexa* Peter; *ficta* P; *uicta* Walter. [2] *repetenti* Peter[1]; ///*recenti* P; *re recenti* B, Peter[2].

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[1] Near Circesium at the junction of the Khabûr and the Euphrates; see c. xxxiv. 2.

[2] Probably to be identified with Argaithus, a Gothic leader, who, according to Jordanes (*de Reb. Goth.*, xvi.), devastated the Dobrudja under Philip and laid siege to Marcianopolis. This was evidently a renewal of the barbarian invasion which had

he asked that their power might at least be equal, but he did not secure this either. After this he asked to be given the position of Caesar, but he did not gain this. He asked also to be Philip's prefect, and this, too, was denied him. His last prayer was that Philip should make him a general and let him live. And to this Philip almost consented—not speaking himself, but acting through his friends, as he had done throughout, with nods and advice. But when he reflected that through the love that the Roman people and senate, the whole of Africa and Syria, and indeed the whole Roman world, felt for Gordian, because he was nobly born and the son and grandson of emperors and had delivered the whole state from grievous wars, it was possible, if the soldiers ever changed their minds, that the throne might be given back to Gordian if he asked for it again, and when he reflected also that the violence of the soldiers' anger against Gordian was due to hunger, he had him carried, shouting protests, out of their sight and then despoiled and slain.[1] At first his orders were delayed, but afterwards it was done as he had bidden. And in this unholy and illegal manner Philip became emperor.

XXXI. Gordian reigned six years. And while the preceding events were taking place, Argunt,[2] the king of the Scythians, was devastating the kingdoms of his neighbours, chiefly because he had learned that Timesitheus, by whose counsels the state had been guided, was now dead.

And now, that he might not seem to have obtained the imperial office by bloody means, Philip sent a

been temporarily checked by Gordian and Timesitheus on their way to the East; see note to c. xxvi. 4.

anum morbo perisse seque a cunctis militibus electum.
nec defuit ut senatus de his rebus, quas non noverat,
3 falleretur. appellato igitur principe Philippo et
Augusto nuncupato Gordianum adulescentem inter
deos rettulit.
4 Fuit iuvenis laetus, pulcher, amabilis, gratus omni-
bus, in vita iucundus, in litteris nobilis, prorsus ut
5 nihil praeter aetatem deesset imperio. amatus est a
populo et senatu et militibus ante Philippi factionem
6 ita ut nemo principum. Cordus dicit omnes milites
eum filium appellasse, ab omni senatu filium dictum,
omnem populum delicias suas Gordianum dixisse.
7 denique Philippus, cum eum interfecisset, neque
imagines eius tollere neque statuas deponere neque
nomen abradere, sed divum semper appellans etiam
apud ipsos milites, cum quibus factionem fecerat,
serio animo et peregrina calliditate veneratus est.

XXXII. Domus Gordianorum etiam nunc exstat,
2 quam iste Gordianus pulcherrime exornavit. est
villa eorum Via Praenestina ducentas columnas in
tetrastylo [1] habens, quarum quinquaginta Carysteae,
quinquaginta [2] Claudianae, quinquaginta Synnades,

[1] *tetrastylo* Salm., Peter; *intrastylo* P. [2] *quinquaginta* om. in P.

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[1] So also Zosimus, i. 19, 1.

[2] So also § 7 and Eutropius, ix. 2, 3. He is called *Divus* in the fictitious inscription in c. xxxiv. 3, but this title does not appear in any of his inscriptions or on any coin.

[3] See c. ii. 3 and note.

[4] Running E. by S. from Rome to Praeneste (mod. Palestrina).

[5] From Carystos in Eubœa. It is now known as *cipollino*—from *cipolla*, "onion," because of its wavy lines of white and green.

letter to Rome saying that Gordian had died of a disease[1] and that he, Philip, had been chosen emperor by all the soldiers. The senate was naturally deceived in these matters of which it knew nothing, and so it entitled Philip emperor and gave him the name Augustus and then placed the young Gordian among the gods.[2]

He was a light-hearted lad, handsome, winning, agreeable to everyone, merry in his life, eminent in letters; in nothing, indeed, save in his age was he unqualified for empire. Before Philip's conspiracy he was loved by the people, the senate, and the soldiers as no prince had ever been before. Cordus says that all the soldiers spoke of him as their son, that he was called son by the entire senate, and that all the people said Gordian was their darling. And indeed Philip, after he had killed him, did not remove his portraits or throw down his statues or erase his name, but always called him divine, even among the soldiers with whom he had made his conspiracy, and worshipped him with a mixture of a serious spirit and the shrewdness of an alien.

XXXII. The house of the Gordians[3] is still in existence. This was embellished by this Gordian very beautifully. There is also a villa of theirs on the Praenestine Way,[4] with two hundred columns in the inner court, fifty of them of Carystian marble,[5] fifty of Claudian,[6] fifty of Phrygian,[7] and fifty of Numidian[8]—

[6] Probably red porphyry from Mons Claudianus on the east coast of Egypt.

[7] From Synnada in Phrygia. It is now known as *pavonazetto* ("peacock-marble"), because of its rich purple markings.

[8] Now known as *giallo antico*. It is golden-yellow in colour, varying toward orange or pink.

3 quinquaginta Numidicae pari mensura sunt. in qua basilicae centenariae tres, cetera huic operi convenientia, et thermae quales praeter urbem, ut tunc, nusquam in orbe terrarum.

4 Familiae Gordiani hoc senatus decrevit ut a tutelis atque a legationibus et a publicis necessitatibus, nisi si vellent, posteri eius semper vacarent.

5 Opera Gordiani Romae nulla exstant praeter quaedam nymphia et balneas. sed balneae privatis hominibus fuerunt et ab eo in usum privatum exornatae

6 sunt. instituerat porticum in Campo Martio sub colle pedum mille, ita ut ab altera parte aeque[1] mille pedum porticus fieret, atque inter eas pariter pateret[2] spatium pedum quingentorum; cuius spatii hinc atque inde viridiaria essent, lauro, myrto et buxo frequentata, medium vero lithostrotum brevibus columnis altrinsecus positis et sigillis per pedes mille, quod esset deambulatorium, ita ut in capite basilica

7 esset pedum quingentorum. cogitaverat praeterea cum Misitheo, ut post basilicam thermas aestivas sui nominis faceret, ita ut hiemales in principio porticuum poneret, ne sine usu[3] essent vel viridiaria vel porticus.

8 sed haec omnia nunc privatorum et possessionibus et hortis et aedificiis occupata sunt.

XXXIII. Fuerunt sub Gordiano Romae elephanti triginta et duo, quorum ipse duodecim miserat, Alexander decem, alces decem, tigres decem, leones mansueti sexaginta, leopardi mansueti triginta, belbi,

[1] *aeque* Petschenig; *qua* P; *aequa* Peter. [2] *pariter pateret* Peter; *pariter et* P. [3] <*ne*> *sine usu* Salm., Peter[1]; *sine usu* P; *intus* Peter[2].

[1] None are known.
[2] Probably the Quirinal is meant.

all of equal size. In this same house there were three basilicas one hundred feet long and other things suitable to such a building, and there were baths that could be equalled nowhere in the world save in the city as it was at that time.

The senate passed a decree for the family of Gordian to the effect that his descendants [1] need never serve as guardians or on embassies or in public duties unless they wished.

There are no public works of Gordian now in existence in Rome save a few fountains and baths. And these baths were built for commoners and were therefore correspondingly equipped. He had projected, however, a portico on the Campus Martius, just under the hill,[2] a thousand feet long, intending to erect another of equal length opposite to it with a space of five hundred feet stretching evenly between. In this space there were to be pleasure-parks on both sides, filled with laurel, myrtle, and box-trees, and down the middle a mosaic walk a thousand feet long with short columns and statuettes placed on either side. This was to be a promenade, and at the end there was to be a basilica five hundred feet long. Besides this, he had planned with Timesitheus to erect summer-baths, named after himself, behind the basilica, and to put winter-baths at the entrance to the porticos, in order that the pleasure-parks and porticos might not be without some practical use. But all this is now occupied by the estates and gardens and dwellings of private persons.

XXXIII. There were thirty-two elephants at Rome in the time of Gordian (of which he himself had sent twelve and Alexander ten), ten elk, ten tigers, sixty tame lions, thirty tame leopards, ten *belbi* or hyenas,

id est hyaenae, decem, gladiatorum fiscalium paria mille, hippopotami sex, rhinoceros unus, argoleontes decem, camelopardali decem, onagri viginti, equi feri quadraginta, et cetera huius modi animalia innumera et diversa; quae omnia Philippus ludis saecularibus
2 vel dedit vel occidit.[1] has autem omnes feras mansuetas et praeterea efferatas parabat ad triumphum Persicum. quod votum publicum nihil valuit. nam omnia haec Philippus exhibuit saecularibus ludis et muneribus atque circensibus, cum millesimum annum in consulatu suo et filii sui celebravit.
4 Quod de C. Caesare memoriae traditum est, hoc
5 etiam de Gordiano Cordus evenisse perscribit. nam omnes, quicumque illum gladio adpetiverunt (qui novem fuisse dicuntur), postea interemptis Philippis[2] sua manu suisque gladiis et iisdem quibus illum percusserant interemisse se[3] dicuntur.

XXXIV. Trium igitur Gordianorum haec fuit vita, qui omnes Augusti appellati sunt, duobus in Africa
2 interemptis, tertio in[4] Persidis finibus. Gordiano sepulchrum milites apud Circesium castrum fecerunt in finibus Persidis, titulum huius modi addentes et Graecis et Latinis et Persicis et Iudaicis et Aegypti-
3 acis litteris, ut ab omnibus legeretur: "Divo Gordiano, victori Persarum, victori Gothorum, victori

[1] *quae omnia . . . occidit* del. by Peter. [2] *a Philippis* P. [3] *se* om. in P; *interisse* Peter[2]. [4] *tertio in* ins. by Ursinus; om. in P and by Peter; *duobus . . . finibus* del. by Peter.

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[1] Celebrated with great magnificence in April, 248.

[2] *i.e.* Julius Cæsar. Suetonius (*Jul.*, lxxxix.) relates that hardly any died a natural death and that *some* slew themselves.

a thousand pairs of imperial gladiators, six hippopotami, one rhinoceros, ten wild lions, ten giraffes, twenty wild asses, forty wild horses, and various other animals of this nature without number. All of these Philip presented or slew at the secular games. All these animals, wild, tame, and savage, Gordian intended for a Persian triumph; but his official vow proved of no avail, for Philip presented all of them at the secular games, consisting of both gladiatorial spectacles and races in the Circus, that were celebrated on the thousandth anniversary of the founding of the City,[1] when he and his son were consuls.

Cordus writes that the same thing that is related of Gaius Caesar[2] happened to Gordian. For after the two Philips were slain, all who had fallen upon Gordian with the sword (there were nine of them, it is said) are said to have slain themselves with their own hands and swords, and those the same swords with which they had stricken him.

XXXIV. This, then, was the life of the three Gordians, all of whom were named Augustus, two of whom perished in Africa, one within the confines of Persia. The soldiers built Gordian a tomb near the camp at Circesium,[3] which is in the territory of Persia, and added an inscription to the following effect in Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian letters, so that all might read: "To the deified Gordian, conqueror of the Persians, conqueror of the Goths, conqueror of

[3] Twenty miles from Circesium (see note to c. xxx. 8), according to Eutropius, ix. 2, 3; between Zaitha and Dura (on the Euphrates below Circesium), according to Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 5, 7. It seems to have been merely a cenotaph, for according to Eutropius, *l.c.*, Philip took Gordian's ashes back to Rome.

Sarmatarum, depulsori Romanarum seditionum, victori
4 Germanorum, sed non victori Philipporum." quod
ideo videbatur additum, quia in campis Philippis ab
Alanis tumultuario proelio victus abscesserat, simul
5 etiam quod a Philippis videbatur occisus. quem
titulum evertisse Licinius dicitur eo tempore quo est
nanctus imperium, cum se vellet videri a Philippis
6 originem trahere. quae omnia, Constantine maxime,
idcirco sum persecutus,[1] ne quid tuae cognitioni dees-
set, quod dignum scientia videretur.

[1] *secutus* P.

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[1] The inscription as recorded here can hardly be authentic. The statement that it had been destroyed before the *vita* was written is in itself suspicious, and the pun on Philippi is more characteristic of the style of these biographers than of a

the Sarmatians, queller of mutinies at Rome, conqueror of the Germans, but no conqueror of Philippi".[1] This was added ostensibly because he had been beaten by the Alani in a disorderly battle on the plains of Philippi and forced to retreat; but at the same time it seemed to mean that he had been slain by the two Philips. But Licinius,[2] it is said, destroyed this inscription at the time when he seized the imperial power; for he desired to have it appear that he was descended from the two Philips. All of this, great Constantine, I have investigated, in order that nothing might be lacking to your knowledge which seemed worth the knowing.

funerary inscription. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that Gordian fought with the Alani as far south as Philippi in Macedonia; see c. xxvi. 4 and note.

[2] See *Heliog.*, xxxv. 6.

MAXIMUS ET BALBINUS

IULII CAPITOLINI

I. Interemptis in Africa Gordiano seniore cum filio, cum Maximinus ad urbem furens veniret, ut quod Gordiani Augusti appellati fuerant vindicaret, senatus praetrepidus in aedem Concordiae VII idus Iulias[1] concurrit, Ludis Apollinaribus, remedium contra furo-
2 rem hominis improbissimi requirens. cum igitur duo consulares, et eminentes quidem viri, Maximus et Balbinus (quorum Maximus a plerisque in historia reticetur et loco eius Pupieni nomen infertur, cum et Dexippus et Arrianus Maximum et Balbinum dicant electos contra Maximinum post Gordianos), quorum alter bonitate, virtute alter ac severitate clari habebantur, ingressi essent Curiam ac praecipue timorem Maximini adventu fronte ostenderent, referente con-

[1] *Iulias* Peter (cf. *Maxim.*, xvi. 1); *Iunias* P.

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[1] See *Maxim.*, xx. 1; *Gord.*, xxii. 1.
[2] See note to *Pert.*, iv. 9.
[3] This date is incorrect; see note on c. xv. 7.
[4] 6th-13th July.
[5] For their complete names see note to *Maxim.*, xx. 1.

MAXIMUS AND BALBINUS

BY

JULIUS CAPITOLINUS

I. When the elder Gordian and his son were now slain in Africa and Maximinus came raging toward the city to take vengeance because the Gordians had been named Augusti,[1] the senate, in great terror, came together in the Temple of Concord[2] on the seventh day before the Ides of July[3]—the time, that is, of the Apollinarian Games[4]—to seek some safeguard against the fury of that evil man. When, then, two men of consular rank, and of distinction too, Maximus and Balbinus[5] (Maximus is not mentioned in many histories, the name of Pupienus being inserted in his place,[6] but both Dexippus[7] and Arrianus[8] say that Maximus and Balbinus were chosen against Maximinus after the Gordians), the one noted for his goodness the other for his courage and firmness—when these two came into the Senate-house, showing plainly on their brows their terror at Maximinus' coming, and 9 July, 238

[6] On this confusion see note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.
[7] See note to *Alex.*, xlix. 3.
[8] *i.e.* Herodian; see note to *Maxim.*, i. 4.

sule de aliis rebus, qui primam sententiam erat dic-
3 turus sic exorsus est: "Minora vos sollicitant, et prope
aniles res ferventissimo tempore tractamus in Curia.
4 quid enim opus de restitutione templorum, de basilicae
ornatu, de thermis Titianis, de exaedificatione Amphi-
theatri agere, cum inmineat Maximinus, quem hostem
mecum ante dixistis, Gordiani duo, in quibus praesidi-
um fuerat, interempti sint, neque in praesenti ullum
5 sit auxilium, quo respirare possimus? agite igitur,
patres conscripti, principes dicite. quid moramini?
ne, dum singulatim pertimescitis, in timore potius
II. quam in virtute opprimamini." post haec tacentibus
cunctis, cum Maximus, qui et natu grandior erat et
meritis et virtute ac severitate clarior, dicere senten-
tiam coepisset, quae ostenderet duos principes esse
faciendos, Vettius Sabinus ex familia Ulpiorum rogato
consule, ut sibi dicere atque interfari liceret, sic ex-
2 orsus est: "Scio, patres conscripti, hanc rebus novis
inesse oportere constantiam, ut rapienda sint consilia,
non quaerenda, verbis quin etiam plurimis abstinen-
3 dum sit atque sententiis, ubi res perurguent. cervices
suas quisque respiciat, uxorem ac liberos cogitet avitas
patriasque fortunas; quibus omnibus inminet Maxim-
inus, natura furiosus, truculentus, inmanis, causa vero,
4 ut sibi videtur, satis iusta truculentior. ille quadrato
agmine castris ubique positis ad urbem tendit, vos

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[1] On the S.W. slope of the Esquiline Hill, on part of the site of Nero's Golden House. They were adjoined on the north-east by the Baths of Trajan, with which they have frequently been confused.

[2] The Colosseum; on its restoration by Elagabalus see *Heliog.*, xvii. 8.

[3] See *Maxim.*, xv. 2.

[4] See note to c. xv. 2.

the consul began to bring up other questions, he who gave the first opinion began thus: "You are disturbed with petty things; while the world blazes we in the Senate-house are busied with an old woman's cares. For what is the use of our discussing the restoration of temples, the embellishment of a basilica, and the Baths of Titus,[1] or building the Amphitheatre,[2] when Maximinus, whom you and I once declared a public enemy,[3] is upon us, the two Gordians, in whom was our defence, are slain, and there is now no help whereby we can be relieved? Come, then, Conscript Fathers, appoint emperors. Why do you delay? Do not be overcome while fearing each for himself and showing terror instead of courage." II. Upon this all were silent; but finally, when Maximus, who was older[4] and more famous by reason of his merits, his courage, and his firmness, began to give his opinion, maintaining that two emperors should be appointed, Vettius Sabinus,[5] one of the family of the Ulpii, asked the consul that he might be permitted to interrupt and speak, and thus began: "I am well aware, Conscript Fathers, that in revolution we should be so well agreed that plans should not be sought but seized; indeed, we should refrain from lengthy words and opinions when events press. Let each look to his own neck, let him think of his wife and children, of his father's and his father's father's goods; all of these Maximinus threatens, by nature passionate, fierce, and bloody, and now with just cause, so it seems to him, still fiercer. In battle-order, with camps pitched everywhere, he is coming towards the city; and you with sitting and consulting waste away the

[5] See c. iv. 4.

5 sedendo et consultando diem teritis. longa oratione
opus non est; faciendus est imperator, immo faciendi
sunt principes, unus qui res domesticas, alter qui bel-
licas curet, unus qui in urbe resideat, alter qui obviam
6 cum exercitu latronibus pergat. ego principes dico,
vos firmate, si placet, sin minus, meliores ostendite:
7 Maximum igitur atque Balbinum, quorum unus in re
militari tantus est ut ignobilitatem generis splendore
virtutis texerit,[1] alter ita clarus nobilitate est, ut et
morum lenitate rei publicae est [2] necessarius et vitae
sanctimonia, quam a prima aetate in studiis semper ac
8 litteris tenuit. habetis sententiam, patres conscripti,
mihi fortasse periculosiorem quam vobis, sed nec vobis
satis tutam, si non aut alios aut hos principes fece-
9 ritis." post haec adclamatum est uno consensu:
10 "Aequum est, iustum est. sententiae Sabini omnes
consentimus. Maxime et Balbine Augusti, di vos
servent. di vos principes fecerunt, di vos conservent.
vos senatum a latronibus vindicate, vobis bellum con-
11 tra latrones mandamus. hostis publicus Maximinus
cum filio pereat, hostem publicum vos persequimini.
felices vos iudicio senatus, felicem rem publicam
12 vestro imperio. quod vobis senatus detulit fortiter
agite, quod vobis senatus detulit libenter accipite."
III. his atque aliis adclamationibus imperatores facti sunt
Maximus atque Balbinus.
2 Egressi igitur a senatu primum Capitolium escende-
3 runt ac rem divinam fecerunt. deinde ad Rostra
populum convocarunt. ubi cum orationem de sen-

[1] *ignobilitatem . . . texerit* Lipsius, Damsté (cf. *Maxim.*, xx, 1); *nobilitatem . . . †ei lexerit* P, Peter. [2] *est* Peter; *sit* P.

[1] On acclamations in the senate see note to *Alex.*, vi. 1.

day. There is no need for a long speech; we must make an emperor, nay we must make two princes, one to manage the affairs of state, one to manage the affairs of war; one to stay at home, and one to go out to meet these bandits with an army. I, then, nominate for emperors—and do you confirm them, if it please you, or if not, show me better ones—Maximus and Balbinus, of whom one is so great in war that he has concealed the lowness of his birth by the splendour of his valour, the other, as he is illustrious of birth, so he is dear to the state by reason both of his gentle character and of his blameless life, which from his earliest years he has passed in study and in letters. Conscript Fathers, you have my opinion—one more perilous perchance to me than to you, but by no means safe for you unless you make these men or others emperors." Upon this they cried out with one accord[1]: "It is right, it is just. We agree with the opinion of Sabinus, all of us. Maximus and Balbinus Augusti, may the gods keep you! The gods have made you emperors; may the gods keep you! Save the senate from the bandits; we entrust you with the war against the bandits. May the public enemy Maximinus and his son perish! Hunt down the public enemy. You are happy in the judgment of the senate, the state is happy in your rule. What the senate has given you, perform stoutly; what the senate has given you, take gladly." III. With these and other acclamations Maximus and Balbinus were made emperors.

Coming out from the senate, then, they first mounted up to the Capitol and made sacrifice, and then summoned the people to the Rostra. But there, after they had delivered speeches about the senate's decision and their own election, the Roman people,

atus sententia et de sua electione habuissent, populus Romanus cum militibus, qui forte convenerant, adclamavit, "Gordianum Caesarem omnes rogamus."
4 hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filia,[1] annum agens
5 quartum decimum, ut plerique dicunt. qui statim raptus est et novo genere senatus consulti, cum eadem die senatus consultum factum esset, inductus in Curiam Caesar est appellatus.

IV. Prima igitur relatio principum fuit, ut duo
2 Gordiani divi appellarentur. aliqui autem unum putant appellatum, seniorem videlicet, sed ego libris, quos Iunius Cordus affatim scripsit, legisse memini
3 ambos in deos relatos; si quidem senior laqueo vitam finivit, iunior autem in bello consumptus est, qui utique maiorem meretur reverentiam, quod eum bel-
4 lum rapuit. post has igitur relationes praefectura urbi in Sabinum conlata[2] est, virum gravem et Maximi moribus congruentem, praetoriana in Pinarium Valentem.

5 Sed priusquam de actibus eorum loquar, placet aliqua dici de moribus atque genere, non eo modo quo Iunius Cordus est persecutus[3] omnia, sed illo quo Suetonius Tranquillus et Valerius Marcellinus,

[1] After *filia* P reads *qui est in Africa occisus*; del. by Peter.
[2] *conlocata* P. [3] *persecutus* Peter; *prosecutus* P.

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[1] On the riot which accompanied this demand see note to *Gord.*, xxii. 2.

[2] On his parentage see note to *Gord.*, xxii. 4.

[3] On his age see *Gord.*, xxii. 2 and note.

[4] Their deification was known at Aquileia at the time of the surrender of Maximinus' army; see *Maxim.*, xxiv. 2-3; Herodian, viii. 6, 3. They are called *Divi* in inscriptions of Maximus and Balbinus and of Gordian III; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.*, 496-498; 500.

together with some soldiers who had by chance assembled, cried out, "We all ask Gordian for Caesar".[1] This was the grandson of Gordian by his daughter,[2] being then, so most say, in his fourteenth year.[3] And so Gordian was hurried away, and by a new kind of senatorial decree, passed on that very same day, he was brought into the Senate-house and declared Caesar.

IV. The first proposal, then, of the Emperors was that the two Gordians be entitled divine.[4] Some, indeed, think that only one, namely the elder, was so entitled; but I remember having read in the books which Junius Cordus wrote, of which there were plenty, that both were placed among the gods. And truly the elder put an end to his life by hanging himself, whereas the younger was destroyed in war, and accordingly deserves greater respect because war took him. At any rate, after these proposals were made, the city-prefecture was given to Sabinus,[5] a serious man and suitable to one of Maximus' character, the prefecture of the guard to Pinarius Valens.[6]

But before I speak of their acts it seems best to tell of their characters and birth—not in the way in which Junius Cordus sought eagerly after everything,[7] but rather as Suetonius Tranquillus[8] and Valerius Marcellinus did. For although Curius

[5] See c. ii. 1.

[6] A relative of Balbinus; see c. v. 5. In c. xv. 6 the biographer rightly contradicts a statement that the young Gordian III was made prefect of the guard.

[7] See Intro. to Vol. i., p. xviii.

[8] The author of the *de Vita Caesarum*, from Julius to Domitian. Marcellinus and Fortunatianus are otherwise unknown, unless the former is the Fabius Marcellinus mentioned in *Alex.*, xlviii. 6 and *Prob.*, ii. 7.

quamvis Curius Fortunatianus, qui omnem hanc historiam perscripsit, pauca contigerit, Cordus vero tam multa ut etiam pleraque et minus honesta perscripserit.

V. Maximo pater fuit Maximus, unus e plebe, ut nonnulli dicunt faber ferrarius, ut alii raedarius 2 vehicularius fabricator. hunc suscepit ex uxore Prima nomine. cui fratres quattuor pueri[1] fuerunt, quattuor puellae, qui omnes intra pubertatem interierunt. 3 nato Maximo carnem bubulam, et quidem multam, aquila in cella eorum proiecisse fertur, quae angusto patebat impluvio, eandemque, cum iaceret neque quisquam adtingere auderet religionis timore, iterum sustulisse et in proximum sacellum, quod erat Iovis 4 Praestitis, detulisse. id eo tempore nihil visum est ominis habere, sed non sine causa factum probavit imperium.

5 Pueritiam omnem in domo parentis[2] Pinarii fecit, quem statim ad praefecturam praetorii subvexit ubi 6 factus est imperator. operam grammatico ac[3] rhetori non multam dedit, si quidem semper virtuti militari 7 et severitati studuit. ac tandem[4] militaris tribunus fuit et multos egit numeros et postea praeturam, sumptu Pescenniae Marcellinae, quae[5] illum loco filii 8 suscepit et aluit. inde proconsulatum Bithyniae egit 9 et deinceps Graeciae ac tertio Narbonae. missus

[1] *pueri* Salm., Peter; *uiri* P. [2] *parentis* Peter; *patris* P. [3] *ac* ins. by Peter; om. in P. [4] *tandem* Cas.; *tamen* P, Peter. [5] *quae* om. in P.

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[1] So also c. xiv. 1; xvi. 2; *Maxim.*, xx. 1. On the other hand, Herodian speaks of both Maximus and Balbinus as patricians (εὐπατρίδαι); see viii. 8, 1 and 4.

[2] A Jupiter Praestes (*i.e.* "Protector") was worshipped at Tibur (mod. Tivoli); see an inscription found there, *C.I.L.*, xiv. 3555. No sanctuary of his at Rome, however, is known.

Fortunatianus, who wrote the history of all this period, touched upon only a few things, Cordus wrote so much as to include a great mass of detail, some of which was not even decent.

V. The father of Maximus was also Maximus. He was one of the plebs,[1] and according to some, a blacksmith, according to others, a carriage-maker. He begot Maximus from a wife named Prima, together with four brothers and four sisters, all of whom died before the age of puberty. At Maximus' birth an eagle, it is said, dropped a piece of beef—and a big one, too—into their dwelling where a narrow aperture lay open to the sky; and later, when it lay there, no one daring to touch it through superstitious fear, it picked it up again and carried it off to the nearest shrine, which was that of Jupiter Praestes.[2] At the time this did not seem anything of an omen; it was done, however, not without reason and showed his future rule.

All his childhood he passed in the house of his kinsman Pinarius, whom he promptly elevated, as soon as he was made emperor, to the prefecture of the guard. He paid little attention to grammar and rhetoric, cultivating always a soldierly valour and sternness. And at length he became military tribune and commander of many detachments; afterwards he served a praetorship, the expenses of which were borne by Pescennia Marcellina, who adopted and supported him as a son. Thereafter he served as proconsul of Bithynia, then of Greece, and thirdly of Gallia Narbonensis.[3] Besides this, he was sent out as a special legate and crushed the Sarmatians in

[3] See note to *Carac.*, v. 1.

praeterea legatus Sarmatas in Illyrico contudit atque inde translatus ad Rhenum rem contra Germanos
10 satis feliciter gessit. post haec praefectus urbi prudentissimus et[1] ingeniosissimus et severissimus
11 adprobatus est. quare veluti nobili[2] senatus ei homini, quod non licebat, novae familiae imperium tamen detulit, confessis omnibus eo tempore in senatu aptiorem non esse, qui deberet principis nomen accipere.

VI. Et quoniam etiam minora plerique desiderant, fuit cibi avidus, vini parcissimus, ad rem Veneriam nimis rarus, domi forisque semper severus, ita ut et
2 tristis cognomen acciperet. vultu gravissimus et retoridus, statura procerus, corporis qualitate sanissimus, moribus aspernabilis, ac tamen iustus neque umquam usque ad exitum negotiorum vel inhumanus vel
3 inclemens. rogatus semper ignovit nec iratus est,
4 nisi ubi eum irasci decuit. factionibus se numquam praebuit, iudicii tenax fuit neque aliis potius quam
5 sibi credidit. quare et a senatu multum dilectus est et a populo timori habitus, si quidem sciebat populus eius censoriam praefecturam, quam videbat posse in imperio vehementius convalescere.

VII. Balbinus nobilissimus et iterum consul, rector
2 provinciarum infinitarum. nam et Asiam et Africam et Bithyniam et Galatiam et Pontum et Thracias et

[1] *et* Cod. Admont., Petschenig; *in* P; om. by Eyssenhardt and Peter. [2] *nobili* ins. by Lenze; om. in P; † *ueluti* Peter.

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[1] His governorship of Germany is mentioned by Herodian, viii. 6, 6; 7, 8.

[2] Even to the extent that he became unpopular with the city mob; see Herodian, vii. 10, 4 and 6 (cf. c. viii. 2).

[3] So also Herodian, vii. 10, 4; viii. 8, 4. Eutropius erroneously asserts the contrary; see ix. 2, 1.

Illyricum; from there he was transferred to the Rhine[1] and conducted a campaign against the Germans with very happy results. After this he proved himself a very sagacious, very able, and very unbending city-prefect.[2] And so, although he was a man of new family, nevertheless, as though he were of noble birth, the senate, though it was contrary to law, bestowed on him the sovereignty—for all confessed that at that time there was no man in the senate fitter to receive the title of prince.

VI. And since many desire even less important details, he was fond of food, very sparing of wine, exceedingly continent in affairs of love, and both at home and abroad always so stern as even to get the name of gloomy. He was extremely grave and even morose of countenance, tall of stature, very healthy of body, repellent in manner, but none the less just, and never, even to the end of his activities, either cruel or unmerciful. When asked, he always granted pardon and never grew angry except when it was only proper to be angered. He never lent himself to conspiracies; he clung to an opinion and did not trust others before himself. For these reasons he was greatly beloved by the senate and held in awe by the people; indeed, the people were not unmindful of his rigid conduct as prefect and saw that this might even increase in vigour when he became emperor.

VII. Balbinus was of very noble birth,[3] twice consul,[4] and the ruler of innumerable provinces. Indeed, he had managed the civil administration of Asia, Africa, Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, Thrace, and the

[4] Consul for the second time in 213. The year of his first consulship is uncertain.

Gallias civilibus administrationibus rexerat, ducto nonnumquam exercitu, sed rebus bellicis minor fuerat quam in civilibus; attamen bonitate, nimia sanctitate ac verecundia ingentem sibi amorem conlocaverat.[1]
3 familiae vetustissimae, ut ipse dicebat, a Balbo Cornelio Theophane originem ducens, qui per Gnaeum Pompeium civitatem meruerat, cum esset suae patriae nobilissimus idemque historiae scriptor.
4 Statura aeque procerus, corporis qualitate conspicuus, in voluptatibus nimius. quem quidem adiuvabat divitiarum abundantia, nam erat a maioribus dives et multa hereditatibus per se ipse collegerat.
5 eloquentia clarus, poemate[2] inter sui temporis poetas
6 praecipuus. vini, cibi, Veneriae avidus, vestitu cultus, nec quicquam defuit[3] quod illum populo non commendabilem redderet. amabilis etiam senatui fuit.
7 Haec de utriusque vita comperimus. denique nonnulli, quemadmodum Catonem et Caesarem Sallustius comparat, ita hos quoque comparandos putarunt, ut alterum severum, clementem alterum, bonum illum, istum constantem, illum nihil largientem, hunc atflu-

[1] *conlocauerat* P, Petschenig, Bitchofsky; *conciliauerat* Peter. [2] *poemate* Jordan; *poemata* P; *poeta* Peter. [3] *defuit* ins. by Jordan and Peter; om. in P.

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[1] There were no legions stationed in any of these provinces. Whatever troops he commanded must have been independent auxiliary cohorts.

[2] The biographer seems to have confused two men: L. Cornelius Balbus of Cadiz (cos. 40 B. C.), who, having fought under Pompey in Spain and so acquired Roman citizenship, was afterwards a trusted subordinate of Caesar and became well known through Cicero's speech in his behalf (the *pro*

Gauls, and at times had commanded an army[1]; he was less capable in military affairs, however, than in civil. Nevertheless, by his good, righteous, and modest life, he won himself great love. He came of a very ancient family—or so he himself asserted, tracing his descent from Cornelius Balbus Theophanes,[2] who became a citizen through the aid of Gnaeus Pompey; this Balbus was very noble in his own country and likewise a writer of history.

He was equally tall of stature, remarkable for the excellence of his body and excessive in his pleasures. In this he was encouraged by his abounding wealth; for he was rich by inheritance on the one hand, and had himself accumulated a great deal through legacies on the other. He was renowned for eloquence and in poetry he ranked high among the poets of his time.[3] He was fond of wine, of eating, and of love, elegant in dress, nor was anything lacking to make him agreeable to the people. He was pleasing also to the senate.

This is what we have discovered about the lives of each. Some, indeed, have thought that these two should be compared in the fashion that Sallust compares Cato and Caesar[4]—that the one was stern and the other genial, the one virtuous and the other steadfast, the one by no means munificent, the other rich

Balbo); and Theophanes of Mitylene, who accompanied Pompey on his campaign against Mithradates, wrote a history of the war, and was in 62 B.C. rewarded with Roman citizenship. The confusion is less strange because Balbus, when a mature man, was adopted by Theophanes.

[3] Nothing is known of his poetry.

[4] An abbreviation of the comparison in Sallust, *de Coniuratione Catilinae*, liv.

VIII. entem copiis omnibus dicerent. haec de moribus atque genere.

Decretis ergo omnibus imperatoriis honoribus atque insignibus, percepta tribunicia potestate, iure proconsulari, pontificatu maximo, patris etiam patriae nomine
2 inierunt imperium. sed dum in Capitolio rem divinam faciunt, populus Romanus imperio Maximi contradixit. timebant enim severitatem eius homines vulgares,[1] quam et senatui acceptissimam et sibi adversissimam
3 esse credebant. quare factum est, ut diximus, ut Gordianum adulescentulum principem peterent, qui statim factus est. nec prius permissi sunt ad Palatium stipatis armatis ire quam nepotem Gordiani Caesaris
4 nomine nuncuparunt. his gestis celebratisque sacris, datis ludis scaenicis ludisque circensibus gladiatorio etiam munere, Maximus susceptis votis in Capitolio ad bellum contra Maximinum missus est cum exercitu ingenti, praetorianis Romae manentibus.

5 Unde autem mos tractus sit, ut proficiscentes ad bellum imperatores munus gladiatorium et venatus
6 darent, breviter dicendum est. multi dicunt apud veteres hanc devotionem contra hostes factam, ut civium sanguine litato specie pugnarum se Nemesis

[1] Here follows in P the misplaced portion of the *Vita Maxim.* beginning *comperit Alexandrum*, c. v. 3, and ending *omnes qui mecum*, c. xviii. 2; see Intro. to Vol. i. p. xxxiii.

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[1] See note to *Pius*, iv. 7.

[2] The old republican principle of colleagueship was so strictly maintained that both Maximus and Balbinus bear this title (previously never held by more than one man) in their inscriptions and on their coins; see Dessau, *Ins. Sel.* 496 and Cohen, v², p. 11, nos. 18-22, p. 17, nos. 26-31.

[3] See c. iii. 3.

[4] See *Gord.*, xxii. 2-3.

in all possessions. VIII. So much for their characters and birth.

All the imperial titles and trappings having been decreed them, they assumed the tribunician power, the proconsular command,[1] the office of Pontifex Maximus,[2] and the name Father of his Country, and entered upon their rule. But while they were at the Capitol making sacrifice the Roman people objected to the rule of Maximus. For the men of the crowd feared his strictness, which, they believed, was very welcome to the senate and very hostile to themselves. And for this reason it came about, as we have related,[3] that they demanded the youthful Gordian as their prince; and thus he was straightway entitled. Indeed Maximus and Balbinus were not suffered to go to the Palace with armed attendants until they had invested the grandson of Gordian with the name of Caesar.[4] And now, this being done, sacred rites were performed, stage-plays and sports in the Circus given, a gladiatorial show was presented,[5] and Maximus, after assuming vows in the Capitol, set out with a mighty army to war against Maximinus.[6] The praetorian guard, however, remained at Rome.

Whence this custom arose, that emperors setting out to war gave an entertainment of gladiators and wild beasts, we must briefly discuss. Many say that among the ancients this was a solemn ritual performed against the enemy in order that the blood of citizens being thus offered in sacrifice under the guise of

[5] They also gave a largess to the people; see the "Chronographer of 354 A.D." (Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 576) and coins with the legend *Liberalitas Augustorum*, Cohen, v², p. 9 f., nos. 10-13, p. 15 f., nos. 14-18.

[6] See *Maxim.*, xx. 5-6.

7 (id est vis quaedam Fortunae) satiaret. alii hoc litteris tradunt, quod veri similius credo, ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre et vulnera et ferrum et nudos inter se coeuntes, ne in bello armatos hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.

IX. Et Maximo quidem ad bellum profecto Romae
2 praetoriani remanserunt. inter quos et populum tanta seditio fuit ut ad bellum intestinum veniretur, urbis Romae pars maxima incenderetur, templa foedarentur, omnes plateae cruore polluerentur, cum Balbinus, homo lenior, seditionem sedare non posset.
3 nam ut[1] in publicum processit, manus singulis quibusque tetendit[2] et paene ictum lapidis passus est,
4 ut[3] alii dicunt, etiam fuste percussus est. neque sedasset tumultum, nisi infantem Gordianum purpuratum ad populum longissimi hominis collo superpositum produxisset. quo viso populus et milites usque adeo placati sunt ut amore illius in concordiam
5 redirent. neque umquam quisquam in illa aetate sic amatus est merito avi et avunculi, qui pro populo Romano contra Maximinum in Africa vitam fini-

[1] *ut* Damsté; *et* P, Peter. [2] *tetendit* Madvig, Peter[2]; *tenuit* P, Peter[1]. [3] *ut* om. in P.

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[1] The biographer is wholly wrong in his explanation of the origin of gladiatorial spectacles. They were brought to Rome from Etruria and were always held in connection with important funerals as a substitute for the human sacrifices originally performed at the grave. Here they are confused with the *devotio*—a wholly different ceremony, by which a general

battle, Nemesis (that is a certain avenging power of Fortune) might be appeased.[1] Others have related in books, and this I believe is nearer the truth, that when about to go to war the Romans felt it necessary to behold fighting and wounds and steel and naked men contending among themselves, so that in war they might not fear armed enemies or shudder at wounds and blood.

IX. Now when Maximus set out to the war the guard remained at Rome; and between them and the populace such a rioting broke out that it led to a domestic war,[2] to the burning of the greater part of Rome, the defiling of the temples, and the pollution of all the streets with blood—when Balbinus, a somewhat mild man, proved unable to quell the rioting. For, going out in public, he stretched out his hands to this person and that and almost suffered a blow from a stone and, according to some, was actually hit with a club; nor would he have finally quelled the disturbance had not the young Gordian, clothed in the purple, been perched on the neck of a very tall man and displayed to the people. When he was seen, however, the populace and soldiers were reconciled and through love of him returned to harmony. No one in that age was ever so beloved; this was because of his grandfather and uncle, who had died for the Roman people in Africa opposing

sacrificed himself or some of his men to the deities of the Lower World in order to secure a victory; see the story of P. Decius Mus, Livy, viii. 9-10.

[2] The account of this riot has been misplaced by the biographer. It took place in connexion with the acclamation of Gordian III. as Caesar; see c. iii. 3; *Maxim.*, xx. 6; *Gord.*, xxii. 2 and notes.

verant. tantum apud Romanos memoria bonarum rerum valet.

X. Maximo igitur ad bellum profecto senatus per omnes regiones consulares, praetorios, quaestorios, aedilicios, tribunicios etiam viros misit, ita ut unaquaeque civitas frumentum, arma et propugnacula et muros pararet, ut per singulas urbes Maximinus fatigaretur. iussum tunc tamen, ut omnia ex agris in civitates colligerentur, ne quid hostis publicus inveniret. scriptum est praeterea ad omnes provincias missis frumentariis iussumque ut quicumque Maximinum iuvisset in hostium numero duceretur. Inter haec Romae iterum seditiones inter populum et milites ortae sunt. et cum mille edicta Balbinus proponeret nec audiretur, veterani se in Castra Praetoria contulerunt cum ipsis praetorianis, quos coepit populus obsidere. nec umquam ad amicitiam essent redacti, nisi fistulas aquarias populus incidisset. in urbe autem, priusquam dictum esset milites pacatos venire, et tegulae de tectis iactae sunt et omnia quae[1] in domibus erant vasa proiecta. atque ideo maior pars civitatis periit et multorum divitiae. nam latrones se militibus miscuerunt ad vastanda ea quae norant ubi reperirent.

[1] *quae* om. in P.

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[1] See *Maxim.*, xix.; *Gord.*, xv.-xvi.

[2] See *Maxim.*, xxi. 2; xxiii. 2-3.

[3] On *frumentarius* see note to *Hadr.*, xi. 4.

[4] This riot was the result of an attack on some soldiers of the guard by two senators; see *Maxim.*, xx. 6; *Gord.*, xxii. 7-8 and note.

[5] *i.e.* those which supplied the Camp. Thereupon the

Maximinus.[1] So powerful among the Romans is the memory of noble deeds.

X. And now, after Maximus had set out to the war, the senate sent men of the rank of consul, praetor, quaestor, aedile, and tribune throughout the districts in order that each and every town should prepare provisions, arms, defences, and walls so that Maximinus should be harassed at each city.[2] It was further ordered that all supplies should be gathered into the cities from the fields, in order that the public enemy might find nothing. Couriers [3] were sent out to all the provinces, moreover, with written orders that whosoever aided Maximinus should be placed in the number of public enemies.

At Rome, meanwhile, rioting between the populace and soldiers broke out a second time.[4] And after Balbinus had issued a thousand edicts to which no one listened, the veterans, together with the guard itself, betook themselves to the Praetorian Camp, where the populace besieged them. Nor would amity have ever been restored had not the populace cut the water-pipes.[5] In the city, however, before it was announced that the soldiers were coming peacefully, tiles were cast down from the roofs and all the pots in the houses were thrown out, so that thereby the greater part of the city was ruined and the possessions of many lost. For robbers mingled with the soldiers and plundered things that they knew where to find.

soldiers made a sally from the Camp and drove the populace into the houses of the city, where they defended themselves with stones and tiles until the soldiers set fire to the buildings; see Herodian, vii. 12, 3-7, which seems to give the correct account.

XI. Cum haec Romae geruntur, Maximus sive Pupienus apud Ravennam bellum parabat ingenti adparatu, timens vehementissime Maximinum, de quo saepissime dicebat se non contra hominem sed
2 contra Cyclopem bellum gerere. et Maximinus quidem apud Aquileiam ita victus est ut a suis occideretur, caputque eius et filii perlatum est Raven-
3 nam, quod a Maximo Romam transmissum est. non tacenda hoc loco devotio est Aquileiensium pro Romanis, qui etiam crines mulierum pro nervis ad sagittas emittendas totondisse[1] dicuntur.
4 Tantum sane laetitiae fuit in Balbino, qui plus timebat, ut hecatomben faceret, statim ut[2] Maximini
5 caput adlatum est. hecatombe autem tale sacrificium est: centum arae uno in loco caespiticiae exstruuntur,
6 et ad eas centum sues, centum oves mactantur. iam, si imperatorium sacrificium sit, centum leones, centum aquilae et cetera huius modi animalia centena
7 feriuntur. quod quidem etiam Graeci quondam fecisse dicuntur cum pestilentia laborarent, et a multis imperatoribus id celebratum constat.

XII. His igitur peractis Balbinus cum summa gratulatione Maximum redeuntem e Ravennati cum exercitu
2 integro et copiis exspectabat; si quidem Maximinus

[1] *crines . . . emittendas totondisse* P corr., Jordan; *crines . . . emittendasse* P[1]; *crinibus . . . emittendas usi esse* Peter. [2] *ut* om. in P.

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[1] See *Maxim.*, xxiv. 5. [2] See *Maxim.*, xxii.—xxiii.
[3] See note to *Maxim.*, xxii. 5.
[4] So also *Maxim.*, xxiv. 7; Herodian, viii. 6, 8. The learned discussion on the hecatomb (like that on the *senatus consultum tacitum, Gord.* xii.) is pure invention. In the early period of Greece a hecatomb was any large sacrifice; see *Iliad*, xxiii.

XI. While this was taking place at Rome, Maximus (or Pupienus) was at Ravenna[1] making ready, with an enormous equipment, for war. He feared Maximinus mightily; very often, indeed, in referring to him he said that he was waging war against not a man but a Cyclops. As it happened, however, Maximinus was beaten so badly at Aquileia that he was slain by his own men,[2] and his head, with that of his son, was brought to Ravenna, whence it was despatched by Maximus to Rome. We must not neglect to mention at this place the loyalty to the Romans displayed by the citizens of Aquileia, for it is said that they cut off their women's hair to make bow-strings to shoot their arrows.[3]

Such was the joy of Balbinus, who was in even greater terror, that he sacrificed a hecatomb as soon as Maximinus' head was brought to him.[4] Now a hecatomb is a sacrifice performed in the following manner: a hundred altars made of turf are erected at one place, and before them a hundred swine and a hundred sheep are slaughtered. Furthermore, if it be an emperor's sacrifice, a hundred lions, a hundred eagles, and several hundreds of other animals of this kind are slain. The Greeks, it is said, at one time used to do this when suffering from a pestilence, and it seems generally agreed that it was performed by many emperors.

XII. When this sacrifice, then, had been performed, Balbinus began looking for Maximus with the greatest rejoicing as he returned from Ravenna with his untouched army and supplies. For really Maxi-

146 f.; *Odyssey*, iii. 7 and 59. Usually bulls and cows were slaughtered, but sometimes small animals as well.

ab oppidanis Aquileiensibus et paucis qui illic erant militibus ac Crispino ac Menophilo consularibus, qui
3 a senatu missi fuerant, victus est. ipse autem Maximus Aquileiam idcirco accesserat ut omnia tuta et integra usque ad Alpes relinqueret ac, si quae essent barbarorum, qui Maximino faverant, reliquiae, com-
4 pesceret. missi sunt denique ad eum legati senatores viginti, quorum nomina sunt apud Cordum (in his consulares quattuor, praetorii octo, octo[1] quaestorii) cum coronis et senatus consulto, in quo ei statuae
5 auratae equestres decernebantur. ex quo quidem Balbinus subiratus est, dicens Maximum minus quam se laborasse, cum ipse domi tanta bella compressisset,
6 ille autem otiosus apud Ravennam sedisset. sed tantum valuit velle, ut Maximo, quia profectus est contra Maximinum, etiam victoria decerneretur, quam
7 impletam ille nescivit. exercitu igitur suscepto Maximini ad urbem cum ingenti pompa et multitudine Maximus venit, maerentibus militibus, quod eum imperatorem quem ipsi delegerant perdiderant et
8 eos habebant, quos senatus legerat. nec dissimulari poterat maeror, qui apparebat in frontibus singulorum; et iam quidem nec verbis abstinebatur, quamvis Maximus et apud milites saepe dixisset oblivionem prae-

[1] *octo* om. in P.

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[1] See Herodian, viii. 7, 1-3; according to Herodian the deputations that met him at Aquileia came from the various cities of Italy.

[2] Herodian (viii. 7, 7) relates that Maximus sent Maximinus' troops back to their stations in the provinces.

[3] See *Maxim.*, xxiv. 8; Herodian, viii. 7, 8. Coins were issued bearing the legend *Victoria Aug(ustorum)*; see Cohen, V², p. 12, nos. 27-30. p. 18, nos. 37-41.

[4] This statement is out of place here. In Herodian's

minus was conquered by the townsfolk of Aquileia, together with a few soldiers who were there and the consulars Crispinus and Menophilus, who had been sent thither by the senate, and Maximus had only gone up to Aquileia,[1] in order to leave everything safe and undisturbed up to the Alps, and also, if there were any of the barbarians who had favoured Maximinus left, to suppress these. Twenty representatives of the senate (their names are in Cordus), among whom were four of the rank of consul, eight of the rank of praetor, and eight of the rank of quaestor, were sent out to meet him with crowns and a decree of the senate in which equestrian statues of gold were decreed him. At this, indeed, Balbinus was a little nettled, saying that Maximus had had less toil than he, since he had suppressed mighty wars at home, while Maximus had sat tranquilly at Ravenna. But such was the power of wishing, that to Maximus, merely because he had set out against Maximinus, a victory was decreed which he did not know had been gained. At any rate, having taken up Maximinus' army,[2] Maximus came to the city with a tremendous train and multitude,[3] while the soldiers grieved that they had lost the emperor whom they themselves had chosen and now had emperors selected by the senate.[4] Nor could they hide their grief, but showed it severally on their faces; and now they no longer refrained from speech, although, in fact, Maximus had previously often addressed the soldiers,

narrative it describes the feelings of Maximinus' army after its surrender and before its dismissal by Maximus; see Herodian, viii. 7, 3. The biographer has confused this with the discontent among the praetorian troops in Rome, which is described by Herodian in viii. 8, 1-2.

teritorum esse debere et stipendia magna donasset et auxilia in ea loca quae delegerant dimisisset. sed animi militum semel imbuti odio refrenari nequeunt. denique cum audissent senatus adclamationes, quae milites tangerent, acriores contra Maximum et Balbinum exstiterunt, secum cottidie cogitantes quos imperatores facere deberent.

XIII. Senatus consulti autem, quo moti sunt, haec forma est: cum ingredienti urbem Maximo Balbinus et Gordianus et senatus et populus Romanus obviam processissent, adclamationes primum publicae fuerunt,
2 quae milites contingerent.[1] inde in senatum itum est, ubi post illa quae communia solent esse festa dictum est: "Sapienter electi principes sic agunt, per imperitos electi principes sic pereunt;" cum constaret a militibus factum Maximinum, Balbinum
3 autem et Maximum a senatoribus. his auditis milites gravius saevire coeperunt, in senatum praecipue, qui sibi triumphare de militibus videbatur.
4 Et Balbinus quidem cum Maximo urbem cum magna moderatione gaudente senatu et populo Romano regebant; senatui plurimum deferebatur; leges optimas condebant, moderate causas audiebant, res
5 bellicas pulcherrime disponebant. et cum iam paratum esset ut contra Parthos Maximus proficisceretur, Balbinus contra Germanos, puer autem Gordianus Romae remaneret, milites occasionem quaerentes

[1] *contingerent* P, Peter[1]; <*non*> *contingerent* Peter[2].

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[1] This is, of course, not a *senatus consultum*. In *Maxim.*, xxvi. 1 acclamations in the senate are similarly called a *senatus consultum*.

[2] *i.e.* the Persians; see note to *Gord.*, xxvi. 3.

[3] See c. xvi. 3 and note.

saying that there ought to be a general forgetting of the past, and had given them high pay and discharged the auxiliaries at whatever place they had chosen. But the minds of soldiers, once they are infected with hate, cannot be restrained. And when they heard the acclamations of the senate which referred to them, they became even more bitter against Maximus and Balbinus and daily debated among themselves whom they ought to make emperor.

XIII. The decree of the senate by which they were aroused was of this nature[1]: When Balbinus, Gordian, the senate, and the Roman people went out to meet Maximus as he entered the city, acclamations which referred to the soldiers were made publicly first. Thereafter they went to the Senate-house, and there, after the ordinary acclamations which are usually made, they said: "So fare emperors wisely chosen, so perish emperors chosen by fools". For it was understood that Maximinus had been made emperor by the soldiers, Maximus and Balbinus by the senators. And when they heard this, the soldiers began to rage even more furiously—especially at the senate, which believed it was triumphing over the soldiers.

And now, to the great joy of the senate and Roman people, Balbinus and Maximus began governing the city, doing so with great moderation. They showed great respect for the senate; they instituted excellent laws, they heard lawsuits with justice, they planned the military policy of the state with great wisdom. But when it was now arranged that Maximus should set out against the Parthians[2] and Balbinus against the Germans,[3] while the young Gordian remained at Rome, the soldiers, who were seeking an opportunity of killing the Emperors, and at first could not find

occidendorum principum, cum primo vix invenire possent, quia Germani stipabant Maximum atque
XIV. Balbinum, cottidie ingravescebant. et erant quidem discordiae inter Balbinum et Maximum, sed tacitae et quae intellegerentur potius quam viderentur, cum Balbinus Maximum quasi ignobilem contemneret,
2 Maximus Balbinum quasi debilem calcaret. qua re occasio militibus data est intellegentibus facile discordes imperatores posse interfici. ludis denique scaenicis, cum multi et milites et aulici occupati essent, et in Palatio soli cum Germanis principes re-
3 mansissent, impetum in eos fecerunt. turbantibus igitur militibus, cum primum nuntiatum esset Maximo turbam illam tempestatemque vix evadi posse nisi ad Germanos mitteretur, et forte in alia parte Palatii Germani cum Balbino essent, mittit ad Balbinum
4 Maximus petens ut ei praesidium mitteret. sed ille suspicatus quod contra se eos peteret, quem postulare putabat[1] monarchiam, primum frustratus est,
5 deinde usque ad litem perventum est. in hac tamen seditione illis contendentibus milites supervenerunt atque ambos eos nudatos vestibus regalibus de Palatio cum iniuriis produxerunt et per mediam civitatem ad Castra raptare voluerunt magna ex parte laniatos.

[a] *quem postula<re puta>bat* Peter; *quem postulabat* P.

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[1] According to Herodian, viii. 7, 8, these were volunteers who followed Maximus to Rome out of personal devotion to him. Herodian also relates (viii. 8, 2) that their presence in Rome aroused the anger of the city soldiers and was one of the causes of the overthrow of the two Emperors. In *Maxim.*, xxiv. 6 it is incorrectly stated that they were discharged by Maximus at Ravenna.

because Maximus and Balbinus were ever atended by a German guard,[1] grew more menacing every day. XIV. There was dissension, too, between Maximus and Balbinus[2]—unspoken, however, and such as could be surmised rather than seen—for Balbinus scorned Maximus, as being humbly born, and Maximus despised Balbinus for a weakling. And this fact gave the soldiers their opportunity, for they knew that emperors at variance could be slain easily. So finally, on the occasion of some scenic plays,[3] when many of the soldiers and palace-attendants were busy, and the Emperors remained at the Palace alone with the German guard, they made a rush at them. When the soldiers thus began to riot it was announced to Maximus that he could not escape from this disturbance and commotion unless he summoned the Germans, and they, as it happened, were in another part of the Palace with Balbinus. He sent to Balbinus, accordingly, asking him to send aid. But Balbinus, suspecting that Maximus was asking for the guard to use against himself, since he believed that Maximus desired to rule alone, at first refused and finally began to wrangle over it. And while they were engaged in this dispute the soldiers came upon them, and stripping them both of their royal robes and loading them with insults, they dragged them from the Palace. Thence, after handling them very roughly, they started to hurry them through the centre of the city to the Camp, but when they

[2] So also Herodian, viii. 8, 4. His account of the overthrow of Maximus and Balbinus agrees closely with this one and is evidently its source.

[3] According to Herodian, viii. 8, 3, this was the *Agon Capitolinus*; see note to *Alex.*, xxxv. 4.

6 sed ubi compererunt Germanos ad defensionem illorum supervenire, ambos occiderunt et in itinere medio
7 reliquerunt. inter haec Gordianus Caesar sublatus a militibus imperator est appellatus (id est Augustus)[1], quia non erat alius in praesenti, insultantibus militibus senatui et populo, qui se statim in Castra rece-
8 perunt. Germani sane, ne sine causa pugnarent occisis iam imperatoribus suis, extra urbem, ubi suos habebant, se contulerunt.

XV. Hunc finem habuerunt boni imperatores, indignum vitae et moribus suis; nam neque Maximo sive Pupieno fortius neque Balbino benignius fuit quicquam, quod in re ipsa intellegi potest. neque enim, cum esset potestas, malos senatus eligeret.
2 huc accedit quod multis honoribus ac potestatibus explorati sunt, cum alter bis consul et praefectus, alter consul et praefectus ad imperium longaevi pervenissent, amabiles senatui et populo etiam, qui
3 Maximum iam leviter pertimescebant. haec sunt quae de Maximo ex Herodiano, Graeco scriptore, magna ex parte collegimus.

4 Sed multi non a Maximo, verum a Pupieno imperatore victum apud Aquileiam Maximinum esse dixerunt, et ipsum cum Balbino esse occisum, ita ut Maximi
5 nomen praetereant. tanta est autem historicorum inter se certantium[2] imperitia vel usurpatio, ut multi eundem Maximum quem Pupienum velint dici, cum

[1] *id est Augustus* del. by Eyssenhardt and Peter. [2] *certantium* Cas., Peter; *errantium* P.

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[1] For Balbinus' consulship see c. vii. 1. He was never prefect of the city.

[2] According to Zonaras, xii. 17, Balbinus was sixty years old

.earned that the Germans were following to defend them, they slew them both and left them in the middle of the street. In the meantime Gordian Caesar was lifted up by the soldiers and hailed emperor (that is, Augustus), there being no one else at hand; and then, jeering at the senate and people, the soldiers betook themselves immediately to the Camp. As for the German guard, not wishing to fight needlessly now that their Emperors were slain, they betook themselves to their quarters outside the city.

XV. This was the end of these good emperors, an end unworthy of their life and characters. For never was anyone braver than Maximus (or Pupienus) or more kindly than Balbinus, as one may see from the facts in the case. The senate did not choose unworthy men when it had the power. And besides this, they were tested by many honours and offices, for the one was consul twice and prefect,[1] the other consul and prefect, and they were advanced in years[2] when they attained the sovereignty. They were beloved by the senate and even by the people, although the latter were slightly in awe of Maximus. This is the information we have gathered concerning Maximus, chiefly from the Greek author Herodian.

Many, however, say that Maximinus was conquered at Aquileia, not by Maximus, but by the Emperor Pupienus, and that it was he, also, who was slain with Balbinus; they omit the name of Maximus altogether.[3] Such is the ignorance, moreover, or the usage of these disputing historians, that many desire to call Maximus

and Maximus seventy-four—a figure which it is hard to reconcile with his personal conduct of the campaign against Maximinus.

[3] On this question, which is further discussed in c. xvi. 7 and xviii., see note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

Herodianus, vitae suae temporum scriptor, Maximum dicat, non Pupienum, cum et Dexippus, Graecorum scriptor, Maximum et Balbinum imperatores dicat factos contra Maximinum post Gordianos duos et a
6 Maximo victum Maximinum, non a Pupieno.[1] his accedit scriptorum imperitia, qua praefectum praetorii fuisse Gordianum parvulum dicunt, ignorantibus multis collo saepe vectum ut militibus ostenderetur.
7 Imperarunt autem Maximus et Balbinus anno uno, cum Maximinus imperasset cum filio, ut quidam dicunt, per triennium, ut alii per biennium.[2]

XVI. Domus Balbini etiam nunc Romae ostenditur in Carinis, magna et potens et ab eius familia huc
2 usque possessa. Maximus, quem Pupienum plerique putant, summae tenuitatis sed virtutis amplissimae fuit.
3 Sub his pugnatum est a Carpis contra Moesos. fuit et Scythici belli principium, fuit et Istriae

[1] *non Puppienus* P. [2] After *biennium* the first Venice edition reads: *Nec reticendum est quod Maximus, cum et sibi et Balbino deferretur iudicio senatus imperium, Balbino dixisse fertur, ut Herodianus dicit, "Quid tu, Balbine, et ego merebimur, cum hanc tam immanem beluam exitio dederimus?" cumque Balbinus dixisset, "Senatus populique Romani feruentissimum amorem et orbis terrarum," dixisse fertur Maximus, "Vereor ne militum odium sentiamus et mortem"*; om. in P and rejected by Jordan and Peter; retained by Patzig, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xiii. p. 45 f.

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[1] See c. iv. 4 and note. [2] See c. ix. 4.

[3] For ninety-nine days, according to the "Chronographer of 354" (Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, vii. p. 576), and this seems to be the correct figure. Their overthrow and the accession of Gordian III. as sole emperor seem to have occurred in June 238, and accordingly their election to the throne is to be placed about

the same as Pupienus, although Herodian, who wrote of his own lifetime, speaks of Maximus, not of Pupienus, and Dexippus, the Greek author, says that Maximus and Balbinus were made emperors against Maximinus after the two Gordians, and that Maximinus was conquered by Maximus, not by Pupienus. In addition to this, they show their ignorance by saying that the child Gordian was prefect of the guard,[1] not knowing that he was often carried on a man's neck to be displayed to the soldiers.[2]

Maximus and Balbinus reigned for one year,[3] after Maximinus and his son had reigned for two years, according to some, for three according to others.[4]

XVI. Balbinus' house is shown in Rome to this day in the Carinae,[5] large and impressive and still in the possession of his family. Maximus, who many think was Pupienus, was of slender substance, though of the most ample courage.

In their reign the Carpi[6] waged war with the Moesians. The Scythian[7] war began, and the

the 15th March; see v. Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencycl.*, i. 2621 f. According to this reckoning the dates in the *senatus consulta* in c. i. 1 and *Maxim.*, xvi. 1 are wholly incorrect and evidently as fictitious as the "documents" themselves.

[4] Three years, four months, and two days, according to the "Chronographer of 354," *i.e.* from Jan. or Feb. 235 to April or May 238.

[5] *i.e.* "the Keels," the western slope of the Esquiline Hill.

[6] A Dacian tribe, which at the beginning of the third century moved into Moldavia and from this time on took part in the barbarian invasions of Dacia and Moesia. They were driven out of Roman territory by Philip in 245-247, but in company with the Goths invaded Thrace and defeated and killed Decius in 251. They were subdued by Aurelian in 272; see *Aurel.*, xxx. 4.

[7] *i.e.* the Goths. These are the "Germani" of c. xiii. 5.

excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Istricae civitatis.

Dexippus Balbinum satis laudat et dicit forti animo militibus occurrisse atque interfectum, ut mortem non timeret, quem omnibus disciplinis instructum fuisse dicit. Maximum vero negat eius modi virum fuisse
5 qualem Graeci plerique dixerunt. addit praeterea tantum[1] contra Maximinum Aquileiensium odium fuisse, ut de crinibus mulierum suarum arcubus
6 nervos facerent atque ita sagittas emitterent. Dexippus et Herodianus, qui hanc principum historiam persecuti sunt, Maximum et Balbinum fuisse principes dicunt, delectos a senatu contra Maximinum post interitum duorum in Africa Gordianorum, cum quibus
7 etiam puer tertius Gordianus electus est. sed apud Latinos scriptores plerosque Maximi nomen non invenio et cum Balbino Pupienum imperatorem reperio, usque adeo ut idem Pupienus cum Maximino apud Aquileiam pugnasse dicatur, cum memoratis historicis adserentibus ne Maximus quidem contra Maximinum pugnasse doceatur, sed resedisse apud Ravennam atque illic patratam audisse victoriam; ut mihi videatur idem esse Pupienus qui Maximus dicitur.

XVII. Quare etiam gratulatoriam epistulam subdidi, quae scripta est a consule sui temporis de

[1] *tantum* om. in P.

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[1] Usually Istros; an ancient city in the Dobrudja, originally a colony of Miletus (Herodotus, ii. 33), conquered by Lucullus in 72 B.C. (Eutropius, vi. 10). It seems to have been merely

destruction of Istria[1] or, as Dexippus calls it, the Istrian city, took place at the same time.

Dexippus praises Balbinus highly, and declares that he rushed at the soldiers with a gallant spirit and so died. He did not fear death, he says, being trained in all the philosophical disciplines. Maximus, he declares, was not the sort of man that most of the Greeks said he was. He adds that such was the hatred of the citizens of Aquileia for Maximinus that they made strings for their bows from their women's hair, and thus shot their arrows.[2] Dexippus and Herodian, who investigated the history of these princes, say that Maximus and Balbinus were the princes selected by the senate to oppose Maximinus after the death of the two Gordians in Africa, and that the third Gordian, the child, was chosen with them. In the majority of the Latin authors, however, I do not find the name of Maximus, and as emperor with Balbinus I discover Pupienus; indeed this same Pupienus is said to have fought against Maximinus at Aquileia, whereas, according to the testimony of the afore-mentioned writers, we are told that Maximus did not even fight against Maximinus but remained at Ravenna and there learned that the victory had been gained. And so it seems to me that Pupienus and he who is called Maximus are the same.[3]

XVII. For this reason I have appended a congratulatory letter that was written about Maximus and Balbinus by a consul of their time. In it he

plundered and not destroyed by the Goths at this time, for it is often mentioned subsequently.

[2] See note to *Maxim.*, xxii. 5.

[3] On this question, which is also discussed in c. xv. 4-5 and xviii., see note to *Maxim.*, xxxiii. 3.

Pupieno et Balbino, in qua laetatur redditam ab hs post latrones improbos esse rem publicam:

2 "Pupieno et Balbino Augustis Claudius Iulianus. cum primum Iovis Optimi Maximi et deorum immortalium senatusque iudicio et consensu generis humani suscepisse vos rem publicam a nefarii latronis scelere servandam regendamque Romanis legibus, domini sanctissimi et invictissimi Augusti, quamquam nondum[1] ex divinis litteris, sed tamen ex senatus consulto quod ad me Vir Clarissimus Celsus Aelianus collega transmiserat, comperissem; gratulatus sum urbi Romae, cuius ad salutem estis electi, gratulatus senatui, cuius pro iudicio, quod in vos habuit, reddidistis pristinam dignitatem, gratulatus Italiae, quam cum maxime ab hostium vastatione defenditis, gratulatus provinciis, quas inexplebili avaritia tyrannorum laceratas ad spem salutis reducitis,[2] denique legionibus[3] ipsis et auxiliis, quae ubique terrarum iam vultus vestros adorant, quod deposito dedecore pristino nunc in vestro nomine dignam
3 Romani principatus speciem receperunt. quocirca nulla vox tam[4] fortis, nulla oratio tam felix, nullum ingenium tam fecundum umquam fuerit, quod possit
4 publicam felicitatem digne exprimere. quae quanta et cuius modi sit,[5] iam in ipso exordio principatus vestri cognoscere potuimus, qui leges Romanas aequitatemque abolitam et clementiam, quae iam nulla erat, et vitam et mores et libertatem et spem

[1] *modum* P. [2] So Peter[2]; *reducitis* om. in P. [3] *de legionibus* P. [4] *tam* ins. by Gruter and Peter; om. in P. [5] *sit* Lessing, Damsté; *sint* P, Peter.

[1] Otherwise unknown and, like the letter, probably fictitious.

rejoices that they had restored the state after it had been in the hands of wicked bandits.

"Claudius Julianus[1] to the Emperors Pupienus and Balbinus. When first I learned that by choice of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of the immortal gods and of the senate, together with the agreement of all mankind, you had undertaken to preserve the state from the sins of that impious bandit and rule it in accordance with Roman law, my lords and most holy and unconquerable Augusti, when first I learned this, not yet from your own sacred proclamations but from the decree of the senate that my illustrious[2] colleague Celsus Aelianus forwarded to me, I felicitated the city of Rome, that you had been chosen to preserve it; I felicitated the senate, that you, in return for its choosing you, had restored to it its early dignity; I felicitated Italy, that you are defending it particularly from spoliation by the enemy; I felicitated the provinces, torn in pieces by the insatiable greed of tyrants, that you are restoring them to some hope of safety; I felicitated the legions, lastly, and the auxiliaries, which now worship your images everywhere, that they have thrust away their former disgrace and have now, in your name, a worthy symbol of the Roman principate. No voice will ever be so strong, no speech will ever be so happy, no talent will ever be so fortunate, as ever adequately to express the state's felicity. How great this felicity is, and of what sort, we can see at the very beginning of your reign. You have restored Roman laws, you have restored justice that was abolished, mercy that was non-existent, life, morality,

[2] On this title see note to *Av. Cass.*, i. 1. Aelianus, like Julianus, is almost certainly fictitious.

5 successionum atque heredum reduxistis. haec enu-
6 merare difficile est, nedum prosequi consentanea dicendi dignitate. nam quod nobis vita per vos reddita est, quam dimissis passim per provincias carnificibus sceleratus[1] latro sic petiit ut se ordini
7 profiteretur iratum, quomodo dicam aut prosequar? praesertim cum mediocritas mea non modo publicam felicitatem, sed ne peculiare quidem gaudium animi mei possit exprimere, cum eos Augustos et principes generis humani videam quorum antehac perpetuo cultu mores et modestiam meam tamquam veteribus censoribus meis cuperem probata. et ut[2] haec esse
8 confidam in priorum principum testimoniis, vestris tamen ut gravioribus iudiciis gloriarer. di praestent praestabuntque hanc orbi Romano felicitatem. nam cum ad vos respicio, nihil aliud optare possum, quam quod apud deos[3] dicitur victor Carthaginis precatus,
9 ut scilicet in eo statu rem publicam servarent in quo tunc esset, quod nullus melior inveniretur. ita ego precor, ut in eo statu vobis rem publicam servent in quo eam vos adhuc nutantem collocaritis."

2 XVIII. Haec epistula probat Pupienum eundem esse qui a plerisque Maximus dicitur; si quidem per haec tempora apud Graecos non facile Pupienus, apud Latinos non facile Maximus inveniatur, et ea, quae gesta sunt contra Maximinum, modo a Pupieno modo a Maximo acta dicantur.[4]

[1] *sceleratus* Peter; *sicelatus* P. [2] *ut* ins. by Bitschofsky; om. in P and by Peter. [3] *eos* P. [4] After *dicantur* some editors print: *Sed Fortunatiano credamus, qui dicit Pupiénum dictum nomine suo, cognomine uero paterno Maximum, ut omnium stupore legentibus aboliti uideantur;* rejected by Jordan and Peter; retained (with emendations by Cas.) by Patzig, *Byz. Zeitschr.*, xiii. p. 49 f.

liberty, and the hope of heirs and successors. It is difficult even to enumerate these things, and much more to describe them with a fit dignity of speech. How shall I tell or describe how you have restored us our very lives, after that accursed bandit, sending executioners everywhere throughout the provinces, had sought them to the point of openly confessing that he was enraged at our whole order, especially when my insignificance cannot express even the personal rejoicing of my own mind, to say nothing of the public felicity, and when I behold as Augusti and lords of the human race those by the unwavering elegance of whose lives I would like my own conduct and sobriety to be approved as by the ancient censors? And though I might trust to have them approved by the attestation of former princes, still I would glory in your judgment as a weightier one. May the gods preserve—and they will preserve—this felicity for the Roman world! For when I observe you, I can hope for nothing else than what the conqueror of Carthage [1] is said to have implored of the gods, namely, that they preserve the state in the condition in which it was then, since no better one could be found. And, therefore, I pray that they may preserve this state, that has tottered up to now, in the condition in which you have established it."

XVIII. This letter shows that Pupienus and he whom most call Maximus were the same. Among the Greeks, indeed, Pupienus is not easily discovered in this period and among the Latins, Maximus; but what was done against Maximinus is sometimes related as done by Pupienus, sometimes as by Maximus.

[1] *i.e.* Scipio Africanus the younger. The anecdote that follows is told by Valerius Maximus, iv. 1, 10.

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